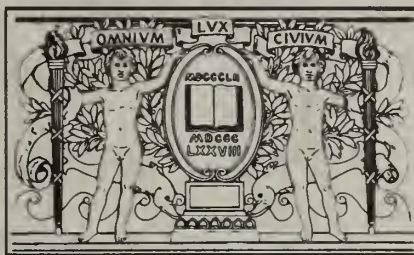


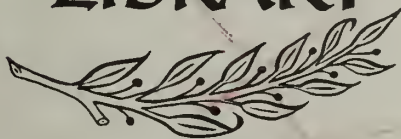
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FIVE ETHNIC GROUPS IN BOSTON:

Blacks, Irish, Italians, Greeks, & Puerto Ricans

a joint report



abcd

Action for Boston
Community
Development, Inc.
150 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02111



UNITED
COMMUNITY
SERVICES
of
METROPOLITAN
BOSTON

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June, 1972

Five Ethnic Groups in Boston:

Blacks, Irish, Italians,

Greeks, and Puerto Ricans

A joint report by Action for Boston Community Development
and United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

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June, 1972



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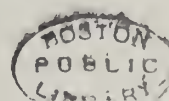
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INTRODUCTION

The 1970 Omnibus Survey was undertaken by Action for Boston Community Development, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, and the Survey Research Program of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard University, among others, as a pilot study designed to identify the general characteristics of several important Boston minorities. Questionnaire design was carried out jointly by all three sponsors, while sample definition, interviewing and tabulation of the results were handled by the Joint Center. A.B.C.D. and U.C.S. collaborated on the production of this report, which covers the major aspects of the survey.

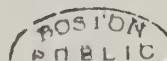
Each of the sponsors had somewhat different interests in participating in the survey, and these differences served to broaden the scope of the investigation. A.B.C.D. was concerned primarily about the Black families moving into the Mattapan area of Boston and about the City's Puerto Rican population as a whole, as well as about the relationships of individuals with social agencies and their need for manpower training and day care services. The Joint Center was interested primarily in the Irish, Italian and Greek populations of Boston, and in attitudes relating to ethnicity among the various groups. All sponsors were interested in obtaining basic demographic information on the selected population groups.

While the samples were selected in such a way as to represent the characteristics of the total population of each group in the areas canvassed, they were necessarily very small and may easily have yielded

results 5 to 10 percentage points away from the true population figures. Therefore, differences between groups of less than 15 to 20 percentage points should be taken as suggestive, rather than definitive. Furthermore, the figures in the text can most appropriately be used as indices of the order of magnitude of population characteristics and sentiments, rather than as precise estimates.

All of the samples differ. The Greek sample was not drawn from a random sample of city blocks, as were the others, but from the Boston City Directory. The Black sample was drawn from a limited geographic area, Mattapan, and does not portray the characteristics of the entire Black population of Boston. It cannot be compared, for example, with the Irish sample, which was drawn from the whole City, but primarily from Charlestown. The Puerto Rican and Italian samples in the survey were also drawn from limited geographic areas, Roxbury-North Dorchester and the South End in the former case and the North End, East Boston and Charlestown in the latter. Unlike the Black sample, however, the Puerto Rican and Italian samples probably approximate fairly closely the characteristics of the total population of these two groups, since the areas covered by the sampling procedures are the areas in which they are primarily concentrated. This assumption is confirmed for Puerto Ricans by a comparison with other sources of City-wide data. It should be noted, however, that Puerto Ricans comprise only a part of the City's Spanish-speaking population and their characteristics differ markedly from those of the other Spanish-speaking groups.*

*A previously published study from data collected in the summer of 1970 provides a much more comprehensive view of Boston's Spanish-speaking population. See Boston's Spanish Speaking Community: Findings of A Field Survey, by Adriana Gianturco and Norman Aronin, ABCD Planning and Evaluation Department, October, 1971.



Although detailed comparisons between groups are not wholly valid, some contrasts are striking. While it was assumed, for example, that Blacks in Mattapan would be upwardly mobile, young families with a relatively high rate of home ownership, it was not expected that this would be the only group to be buying homes in the City. This group, with its large proportion of wage earners and median income of \$7,500, substantially exceeding the median for all Boston families of \$6,800, has a great potential as a stabilizing force against the further deterioration of the City's socio-economic base. The inherent strengths of the Blacks in Mattapan, however, must be reinforced with City assistance to halt the erosion of their neighborhood, and with it the investment these families have made in the City's future.

The contrasts between the Greeks and the Puerto Ricans are both startling and instructive. While the two groups held in common their recent arrival in the continental United States, their poor educational background, and their high degree of ethnocentricity, the correspondence stops at that point. The Greeks had the highest rate of labor force participation and the highest incomes of any of the groups surveyed. The Puerto Ricans were at the other extreme, with the lowest rate of labor force participation and the lowest incomes. The Greeks, perhaps because they join an established community on their arrival, seem to be highly successful, while the Puerto Ricans, with little in the way of skills or family stability, exhibit a frightening degree of poverty. This group, which was the most in need of social services of all kinds, knew least how to obtain them.

Finally, the Irish and the Italians appear to differ only in degree. Both groups arrived in the great migration of the Nineteenth

and early Twentieth Centuries, in which the Irish preceded the Italians by only a few decades. With that head start, the Irish appear slightly more assimilated into the American mainstream than the Italians, but the differences were not substantial. Both appear to be the remnants of once-vigorous urban immigrant populations. While the Irish were older, better educated, and employed in higher status occupations, their incomes were low due to the large number of retired among them. The Irish were also less ethnocentric than any of the other groups, and were correspondingly more tolerant of other races, religions, and ethnic groups. Both groups had histories of long residence in their current neighborhoods, but the predominance of older household heads, especially among the Irish, indicates that the succeeding generations in both groups are settling in other areas.

Other findings contain implications important to the policies of the City's social agencies. It was generally true, for example, that those who were most in need of assistance knew least about how to obtain it. Need for social services cannot be measured by one index alone, of course, but it was found that the groups with the highest incomes, the greatest stability, and the best educations were those which had the greatest specificity of knowledge about where to obtain manpower training or day care, the two services used as examples to test the respondents' awareness of service availability. As already noted, the group with the greatest problems--the Puerto Ricans--knew least about where to obtain services.

The area of manpower training was explored through respondents' job histories as well as through their knowledge of training opportunities. While job turnover was high--some groups had averaged one job change a year in each of the previous five years--very few had used either public or private agencies to find their current job. Despite the many job referral agencies dispersed throughout the City, informal or haphazard contacts were the most frequently used method of finding a job, especially among the most disadvantaged.

While the proportion of household heads who had received some form of special skill training ranged from one-fifth to one-third (except among Puerto Rican heads, of whom only five per cent had ever received such training), the rate of unemployment was generally higher among those with training than among those without it. Although it is difficult to draw a firm conclusion from this finding, the indication is that training is not necessarily a guarantee against unemployment.

Knowledge of manpower training opportunities was less extensive and less specific among those with higher unemployment and a lower rate of participation in the labor force. Only half of the Puerto Ricans and Greeks were even aware that manpower training services existed, and very few could name specific programs. A.B.C.D.'s efforts at reaching minority groups appeared to have been productive, however, as that agency was named most frequently by both Blacks and Puerto Ricans in this context.

The respondents' knowledge of day care services followed a similar pattern. Again, half of the Puerto Rican respondents were

unaware of the existence of such services, although 90 per cent of the more middle-class Blacks knew of such programs. Except among the Irish, however, a large majority of the eligible parents would use day care services if they were available. In most cases, the wife would go to work if the children were cared for during the day, and many indicated that this would make a substantial contribution to the financial stability of the family.

Respondents were also asked to rate the effectiveness of four well-known but dissimilar social agencies in the City. For the most part, responses were predictable. Blacks and Puerto Ricans gave the highest ratings to A.B.C.D., the City's anti-poverty program and the agency with which they were most familiar. A.B.C.D.'s neighborhood service organizations, the Area Planning-Action Councils (APACs), were less well known, and ratings of their effectiveness varied with the geographic location of the groups interviewed. UCS, an umbrella organization which helps to support over 200 voluntary organizations while providing some direct services through its information and referral office and Volunteer Bureau, was best known among the Irish, Greeks and Italians, and a majority of those who knew of it gave it good marks for effectiveness. Finally, the City's Little City Hall program of dispersed administrative centers was very well known, and a surprisingly large proportion felt very strongly about it. Many expressed entirely positive or entirely negative opinions of the program.

The greatest single implication of the study is the need for greater awareness of the services available among those who need them the most. The problem is compounded because so many respondents not

only do not know where to look for services but simply do not know that services exist. At the lowest level, a person who does not know that manpower training services exist may not even be able to define his problem as one of lack of essential basic skills, and will never be able to question his status as a marginal member of the labor force, much less seek assistance. Those who are aware that agencies exist to provide such training are easier to reach, and have probably been the main target of the major job programs; these people are aware that means exist by which they can upgrade themselves, and simply need to be made aware of specific opportunities and motivated to take advantage of them. This study shows, however, that neither group is being reached to the greatest extent possible.

This communication gap is greatest among the Puerto Ricans. The characteristics of this group are such that there can only be said to be an emergency among them, yet they had least knowledge of the existence of the specific services mentioned and the least knowledge of the four agencies named. **It is clear that none of these agencies has yet reached Boston's Puerto Rican community with the level of services that they so desperately need.**

While the Irish were in many ways not a problem group, there appears to be a minority among them in which there are extremely pressing problems. The low incomes of many Irish are due to the large numbers who are retired and dependent on pensions and social security, which can only provide a marginal existence for many. Within a few years, many Italian families may be in the same condition.

The Black families of Mattapan also deserve attention as an emerging new middle class for Boston. The only group buying homes in the City in any number, this group was among the most stable and secure of those studied. However, their stability in Mattapan will be ephemeral if their investment in this neighborhood is not protected. While more social services may be necessary, the greater need in Mattapan is for augmented municipal services and concerted action by neighborhood residents and public agencies to resist destructive real estate practices and the deterioration of the neighborhood's housing, schools, and physical facilities.

PART ONE:

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIVE GROUPS



I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

This section examines the demographic characteristics of each of the five ethnic groups studied. Topics covered in the first part of the material are the sex, age, marital status, education and occupation of the household head. Subsequent parts of the chapter deal with household composition, household finances, religion, and residential mobility.

A. Characteristics of Household Heads

The sex of the head of the household is generally presumed to be one indicator of family stability. In the samples taken for this survey, two groups stand out, both from the others and from the expected norm. First, although a high proportion of black families City-wide are headed by females, in the sample of Black families from Mattapan studied in this survey the incidence of female-headed households is about the same as for the other ethnic groups surveyed. According to the 1970 Census, 44 per cent of all Black households in Boston are headed by women, but in the sample taken from Mattapan only 34 per cent are female-headed. Second, the proportion of female heads among the Greek sample, at 6 per cent, is strikingly lower than that among any other group studied.

TABLE 1: Sex of Head of Household

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
Male	66%	68%	78%	94%	68%	66%
Female	<u>34</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>34</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University.

Heads of households differed radically in age from one group to another and from the City average. Nearly one-third of the Irish heads were over sixty-five, and well over half were over fifty-five. In contrast, 45 per cent of the Puerto Rican heads were twenty-four or younger, while the greatest share of the heads of Black households were in the twenty-five to thirty-four bracket. Italian heads also tended to be somewhat older, but neither they nor the Greeks differed greatly in this respect from the distribution reported elsewhere for the City as a whole.

TABLE 2: Age of Head

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
18 - 25	20%	1%	5%	6%	45%	10%
25 - 34	40	7	10	10	26	} 34
35 - 44	14	22	17	30	11	
45 - 54	20	13	21	26	9	} 35
55 - 64	4	26	24	16	6	
65+	2	32	22	12	4	20
NA	<u>0</u>	<u>@</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	101%#	100%	100%	101%#	100%
Median Age of Head	32	60	53	45	27	NA

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969.

@Less than 0.5 per cent.

#Totals in this and succeeding Tables may not add to 100 per cent due to rounding.

A third important variable is the marital status of the head of the household. A higher percentage of widowed persons would be expected among an older population, and about one-fifth of both the Irish and Italians were widowed. The Greeks generally had a higher proportion of intact marriages than any other group, while the Puerto Ricans and Blacks had a relatively low proportion of intact marriages, compared to the City-wide rates. Many more Irish were separated than were divorced.

TABLE 3: Marital Status of Head

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
• Married	48%	56%	70%	82%	49%	56%
Single	22	6	6	10	17	26
Widowed	2	21	17	4	11	11
Divorced	8	1	3	2	6	7
Separated	20	16	4	2	15	
NA	0	0	0	0	2	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969.

Puerto Ricans were found to have the lowest educational attainment of any group surveyed: 64 per cent had less than an eighth grade education, and only 8 per cent had finished high school or gone beyond. Italian household heads were almost as poorly educated: 55 per cent had had eight years of school or less, and 75 per cent had not graduated from high school. Blacks, on the other hand, were among the better educated of the groups surveyed. While none of those in the sample were found to have completed the full four years of college, 22 per cent had attended from one to three years, a higher rate of college attendance than any other group. Furthermore, although 44 per cent of the Black heads had not completed high school, 34 per cent had a better showing in both respects than any other group. At the same time, however, while more Irish and Greek heads had dropped out before graduating from high school and fewer had attended college, more had completed four years of college or had gone beyond into graduate work: 11 per cent in the former case and 10 per cent in the latter.

TABLE 4: Education of Head

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
8 grades or less	18%	22%	55%	40%	64%	21%
1 - 3 high school	26	34	20	12	23	17
4 high school	34	28	15	22	4	28
1 - 3 college	22	5	6	10	4	17
4 college	0	5	0	8	0	14
Higher	0	6	0	2	0	
NA	0	0	4	6	5	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	99%

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969.

The proportion of heads in the labor force ranged from a very low 55 per cent among Puerto Ricans to a high of 84 per cent among Blacks and Greeks. About one-quarter of the Puerto Rican heads were "at home"; in other words, they were not working, retired, nor acting as housewives, nor had they looked for work within the previous four weeks. They were simply non-participants in the labor force. Irish and Italians also had relatively low labor force participation rates, but 26 per cent of the former and 22 per cent of the latter were retired.

White-collar workers exceeded those in blue-collar trades only among the Irish, and in no case exceeded the City-wide rate of 35 per cent of all household heads. Only 2 per cent of the Puerto Rican heads were in white-collar work, compared to 26 per cent among Blacks. Blue-collar workers exceeded white-collar workers by two to one among Blacks and Greeks and by four to one among Italians. In all three groups, the proportion of heads in blue-collar work exceeded the City rate of 42 per cent.*

Unemployment is conventionally defined as the proportion of those who had looked for work in the previous four weeks among the total of those who had been looking for work or were currently employed. Using this measure, the unemployment rate among heads of households ranged from zero among Greeks to 4 per cent among Italians, 7 per cent among Blacks, 16 per cent among the Irish, and 19 per cent among Puerto Ricans.

*City data from the 1969 Boston Area Survey.

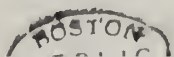


TABLE 5: Occupational Summary for Household Heads

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
<u>In the labor force</u>					
White collar	26%	27%	12%	24%	2%
Blue collar	46	22	49	58	38
Looking for work	6	10	3	0	11
NA	6	5	2	2	4
All heads in the labor force	84%	64%	66%	84%	55%
<u>Not in the labor force</u>					
At home	8	5	1	2	24
Retired	4	26	22	6	4
Housewife	6	5	9	0	15
Student	0	0	0	2	0
Other	0	0	1	0	0
NA	2	0	1	6	2
All heads not in the labor force	16%	36%	34%	16%	45%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Unemployment rate

Heads who were not
working but who had
looked for work in
the previous four
weeks as a propor-
tion of all heads
in the labor force

7% 16% 4% 0% 19%

B. Household Composition

Puerto Rican households were by far the largest of any group surveyed; 38 per cent were composed of five or more members, while the mean household size of 4.2 persons for this group exceeds the City-wide figure of 2.9. The Irish were at the other extreme: 37 per cent lived by themselves, and only 13 per cent lived in households of five or more. Greek families were also quite large, while Black and Italian households were much closer to the City mean.

TABLE 6: Number in Household and Mean Household Size

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
One	12%	37%	18%	10%	9%	
Two	32	21	27	16	21	
Three	12	22	16	18	21	
Four	28	7	22	28	11	
Five	10	6	8	10	13	
Six or more	6	7	9	18	25	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Mean Household Size	3.2	2.5	3.0	2.8	4.2	2.9

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969.

Traditionally, ethnic groups have tended to carry on the extended family household to some degree. One measure of whether or not the household is of extended type is the number of adults in the household, since the norm for American households consists of two adults and their children.

TABLE 7: Number of Adults in Household

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
One	30%	37%	21%	12%	30%
Two	64	51	69	56	62
Three or more	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Only the Greek households had a substantial number of households in which three or more adults live. When this table is compared with the preceding one, it can be seen that while the percentage of one person households corresponds closely to the percentage of one adult households for Irish, Italians and Greeks, there is large discrepancy for Blacks and Puerto Ricans, which may indicate a frequent incidence of one parent families among these groups.

Another indicator of the existence of extended families is the presence of adults over the age of sixty-five.

TABLE 8: Number of Adults 65 or Over

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
None	98%	68%	77%	80%	94%
One	2	16	18	20	6
Two or more	<u>0</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Blacks and Puerto Ricans had virtually no households with members who were sixty-five or older, while close to one-third of the Irish households had at least one member over sixty-five, as had a fourth of the Italian households and a fifth of the Greek households.

Half or more of the Irish and Italian households contained no minor children, while one-third of the Puerto Rican families contained four or more. However, the mean number of children in Puerto Rican households with children was 3.4, more than any other group, while the mean in Black households was 2.4 and in Irish households 2.5.

TABLE 9: Number of Minor Children in Household

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
None	40%	69%	50%	34%	32%
One	16	12	13	16	11
Two	24	7	23	36	17
Three	12	6	8	6	9
Four or more	8	6	6	8	31
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean number of minors in house- holds with children	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.2	3.4

Another factor in analyzing household composition is with whom the head of the household lives.

TABLE 10: With Whom Head Lives

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Alone	14%	37%	18%	10%	9%
Spouse	10	16	21	6	11
Spouse and children	30	41	49	52	34
Spouse and other relatives	0	0	0	2	2
Spouse, children, and other relatives	4	0	1	14	6
Children and other relatives	8	*	0	0	4
Other relatives only	10	6	2	6	7
Children only	18	*	9	4	21
Unrelated individual(s)	6	0	0	4	6
NA	0	0	0	2	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The greatest proportion of households in all ethnic groups were composed of two adults and their children. A large proportion of Blacks and Puerto Rican heads lived with their children only, while relatively many Irish and Italian heads lived alone with their spouses. Cases in which the head was sharing the household with unrelated individuals were found among Blacks, Greeks, and Puerto Ricans.**

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

**Unmarried couples living together with their children are dealt with as though married.

The variable "Life Cycle" combines age, marital status and whether or not minor children are present.

TABLE 11: Life Cycle

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
Head under 40:						
single	16%	1%	0%	10%	17%	15%
married, no children	6	0	4	4	11	5
married, children	42	13	20	16	49	19
All heads under 40	64%	14%	24%	30%	77%	39%
Heads 40 - 64:						
single	18	27	10	6	4	11
married, no children	2	10	17	6	4	8
married, children	14	17	27	46	11	22
All heads 40 - 64	34%	54%	54%	58%	19%	41%
Heads 65 and over:						
single	0	16	13	4	2	12
married	2	16	9	8	2	7
All heads over 65	2%	32%	22%	12%	4%	19%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	99%

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969.

Some interesting differences among the groups became apparent from this table. As indicated by the age of the head, the large majority of Black and Puerto Rican households were quite young; slightly less than half in each case were comprised of married couples with children. Most households among Irish, Italians, and Greeks, on the other hand, had middle-aged heads in the 40-to-64 bracket. In this bracket, large numbers of single heads were found only among the Irish, while most of the Greek heads were married with children. Large proportions of elderly heads were found only among the Irish and Italians.

The last table in this section tabulates the different generations living in the households of the various groups.

TABLE 12: Generational Composition of Respondent's Household

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Lives alone or with unrelated individuals	18%	37%	18%	14%	15%
One generation family	20	21	22	8	15
Two generation family	62	42	59	72	68
Three generation family	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The majority of all respondents lived with members of their own and another generation. Italians and Greek respondents had a higher proportion of households living with their own and another generation than other groups and the Greeks had the lowest proportion of households consisting of one generation only. Greeks were also the only group with any number living in households consisting of three generations.

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

C. Household Finances

The finances of the households studied varied widely from one group to another. At one extreme were the Puerto Rican households, with a median income of \$3,700 and with less than half able to depend on the head's wages as the major source of income. At the other extreme were the Greeks, with a median income of \$10,900 and, for many, a cushion of unearned income from rents.



Only two groups, the Puerto Ricans and the Irish, fell below the median income level of \$6,800 for the entire City. Italians, at \$7,000, and Blacks, at \$7,500, were somewhat above this level, while Greeks, as noted, were at a level comfortably higher than that of the typical City family. While none of the Black families made less than \$3,000 a year, more than one-third of the Puerto Rican families were in this category, as were one-quarter of the Irish. However, many Black, Irish, and Puerto Rican households appeared to be on the edge of poverty, if not in it, as one-fifth to one-third in each group reported incomes of \$3,000 to \$6,000 per year.

TABLE 13: Family Income

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>City of Boston*</u>
Less than \$3,000	0%	25%	8%	4%	34%	14%
\$3,000 to \$5,999	24	22	16	12	36	24
\$6,000 to \$8,999	26	11	27	12	9	22
\$9,000 to \$11,999	16	12	14	18	8	21
\$12,000 to \$14,999	4	10	5	8	2	
\$15,000 or more	12	7	6	22	0	8
NA	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Median Family Income	\$7,500	\$5,000	\$7,000	\$10,900	\$3,700	\$6,800

*Source of City Data: Boston Area Survey, 1969, for 1968.

Only one-half of the families of the two groups with the lowest median incomes, the Irish and the Puerto Ricans, gained the majority of their income from wages. Among Puerto Ricans, AFDC and other welfare payments were the largest sources of income for 30 per cent of the households, while pensions and social security were the largest source for 30 per cent of Irish households. Relatively few families of other groups depended on unearned income as the major source of financial support.

TABLE 14: Major Source of Income

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Wages or salaries of head	74%	52%	67%	74%	49%
Wages or salaries of someone other than head	10	6	5	8	4
Welfare (non-specific)	0	0	3	0	28
AFDC	6	0	3	0	2
Social Security	0	20	12	0	0
Pension	0	10	3	0	2
Rents	0	0	0	2	0
Alimony, child support	0	0	1	0	0
Other	0	*	0	2	2
NA	10	11	6	14	13
	100%	99%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Forty-seven per cent of the Puerto Rican respondents reported receiving AFDC or other welfare payments, the largest proportion for any group. By contrast, 26 per cent of the Irish and 20 per cent of the Blacks received these types of public assistance. One-third of the Irish also received Social Security payments, more than any other group, and 26 per cent received a pension. Income from rents was significant for Greeks, Italians, and Blacks.

TABLE 15: Types of Income Sources
(Other than Wages and Salaries)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Welfare (non-specific)	12%	20%	9%	4%	45%
AFDC	8%	6%	4%	0%	2%
Unemployment	4%	1%	1%	2%	0%
Social Security	2%	33%	20%	14%	6%
Sick pay or disability benefits	6%	0%	3%	0%	1%
Pension	2%	26%	5%	2%	1%
Rents	12%	6%	27%	32%	2%
Alimony, child support	0%	5%	1%	0%	0%
Insurance, investments	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Other	0%	*	9%	4%	4%

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Expenditures for housing generally represent one of the largest drains on income. While renting is usually less expensive, the long-term advantages of home ownership induce many to assume the added burden of mortgage payments. In this study, a majority of every group were renting their present quarters. This form of tenancy was highest among Puerto Ricans, 96 per cent of whom rented, and Blacks, among whom the percentage of renters was 76 per cent. By contrast, 40 per cent of the Greeks interviewed owned their own homes, as did about a quarter of the Irish and Italians. The low rate of ownership among these two groups, which were the longest settled of those surveyed, contrasts to that among Blacks, 24 per cent of whom owned or were buying their home. Only Blacks were buying homes in Boston in significant numbers.

TABLE 16: Tenancy

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Owns	4%	28%	26%	40%	0%
Buying	20	1	5	2	4
Rents	76	71	69	58	96
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



While housing costs for owners and buyers were higher than for renters across the board, such costs for Black families were nearly twice those for Black renters. Even the rentals paid by Black families were higher than those paid by all others except Greeks, the group with the highest income of all. Predictably, housing costs for the longest-established groups, the Irish and the Italians, were the lowest.

TABLE 17: Median Gross Monthly Housing Costs
for Owners and Renters*

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Owners and buyers	\$275	\$150	\$128	\$200	\$ -
Renters	\$145	\$109	\$100	\$158	\$100

*Gross housing cost includes rent or mortgage payments plus all utilities, including heat, electricity, water and gas.

Despite their relatively high housing costs, many Black families were not spending a disproportionately high share of their incomes for shelter, at least compared to the other groups surveyed. While 34 per cent of Blacks were spending more than 30 per cent of their incomes for housing, this share was far smaller than that among Puerto Ricans, more than half of whom spent at least this share for shelter. As many Irish as Black households spent at least 30 per cent of their income for housing, but just as many were at the other extreme, spending less than 20 per cent for shelter, as were a significant proportion of every group.

TABLE 18: Gross Housing Costs as a Proportion of Family Income

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Less than 10%	4%	6%	9%	2%	2%
10 - 19%	22	28	23	32	13
20 - 29%	20	18	22	16	19
30 - 39%	20	11	12	10	15
40 - 49%	8	10	2	8	15
50% or more	6	15	6	6	23
NA	20	12	26	26	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The extremes in housing expenditures notwithstanding, median housing allocations were similar among all groups except Puerto Ricans. The median proportion of income allocated to housing was between 21 per cent and 27 per cent among Italians, Greeks, Irish, and Blacks, but was 38 per cent among Puerto Ricans.

Expenditures for food and time payments on cars, insurance, personal loans, and installment sales contracts are perhaps the two most important other fixed expenditures faced by families. For most groups, food expenditures were approximately equal to those for housing. Only among Blacks, the group with the lowest proportionate expenditure, were they substantially less, while among Puerto Ricans median expenditures for food were 38 per cent of income, equal to that for housing. Time payments, among those who had incurred them, were much less significant, ranging from 6 per cent of income among Italians to 14 per cent among Puerto Ricans.

TABLE 19: Median Proportion of Income Devoted to Housing, Food and Time Payments, and Remaining After Fixed Expenditures

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Housing	27%	23%	21%	21%	38%
Food	20%	28%	23%	22%	38%
Time Payments*	11%	10%	6%	7%	14%
Income remaining after fixed expenditures	42%	38%	47%	50%	13%

*Median calculated for respondents with time payments only. See Table 20.

Not all families had incurred time payments. Eighty per cent of the Irish had no such obligations, nor did two-thirds of the Italians, Greeks, and Puerto Ricans--all for different reasons, of course. Seventy per cent of the Black households were carrying time payments, however. Automobile payments were common to every group except the Irish, while charge accounts were a major factor among Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Many Blacks were also paying off personal loans.

TABLE 20: Nature of Time Payments

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Automobile (including insurance and repairs)	24%	7%	11%	24%	15%
Personal loan	18	10	5	2	0
Charge accounts, installment sales contracts (other than car)	24	2	13	6	22
Other	4	1	9	2	0
No time payments	30	80	62	62	64
NA	0	0	0	4	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	101%

The income remaining after these fixed obligations had been met varied from only 13 per cent of the total among Puerto Ricans to 50 per cent among the Greeks.* Between these two extremes, the Blacks and Italians were the best off, with 42 per cent and 47 per cent remaining, while the Irish were left with 38 per cent of their income.

*See Table 19.



Overall, most of those surveyed seemed to feel relatively comfortable financially. When asked how hard it was to "make ends meet", most responded that it was not too hard. However, there were significant exceptions to this. Among Puerto Ricans, 43 per cent responded that it was very hard, as did 36 per cent of the Irish. Many in all groups responded that it was pretty hard, and only the Greeks had a relatively large number who said it was easy. The general impression given by all except the Puerto Ricans is that of predominantly middle-income households, with some financial worries, but not many which are overwhelming. The Irish had somewhat greater problems, due no doubt to the large number of aged and retired persons among them, but among Puerto Ricans there seemed to be greater financial hardship. This seems reasonable in light of their high unemployment rate and relatively great dependence on public assistance.

TABLE 21: How Difficult to Make Ends Meet

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Very difficult	20%	36%	13%	12%	43%
Pretty difficult	18	16	23	20	21
Not too difficult	52	36	54	48	32
Easy	10	12	9	18	4
NA	0	0	1	2	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

D. Religion and Ethnicity

Religion and ethnicity are closely related in some ethnic groups and not so closely in others. Some groups also have higher rates of religious and ethnic intermarriage than others, and attitudes about these types of intermarriage vary.

Religious affiliations were about what would have been predicted simply by knowing the ethnic group. Blacks were mostly Protestant; Irish, Italians and Puerto Ricans were mostly Catholic; and Greeks were mostly Orthodox. However, there was also a large group of Puerto Rican Protestants, while 11 per cent of the Irish were Protestant and 10 per cent of the Blacks, Roman Catholic.

TABLE 22: Religious Affiliations of Respondent

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Protestant	82%	11%	1%	4%	28%
Catholic	10	89	97	0	70
Jewish	2	0	0	0	0
Orthodox	0	0	0	94	0
Other, NA	0	0	0	0	0
None	6	0	2	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Except among Blacks, the great majority of marriages were between individuals of the same religion; nearly two-fifths of the marriages of Black respondents were mixed in this sense. Italians, Greeks and Puerto Ricans showed quite high rates of religious exclusivity, but one-fifth of the marriages of Irish respondents were mixed. Most intermarriages were between Catholics and Protestants (for Blacks and Irish) and between different Protestant denominations (for Blacks).*

TABLE 23: Whether Spouse is Same Religion
(Among married couples only)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	63%	78%	91%	90%	87%
No	37	22	9	10	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Table not shown.

Ethnic intermarriage appeared to be greatest among Irish respondents. Of those who were married, 42 per cent were married to a spouse of another ethnic group. Thirty per cent of Italians were also married to a spouse of another ethnic group, but the large volume of non-responses from this group makes it difficult to assess this finding. Greeks and Puerto Ricans appeared to be the most exclusive in this matter, but the pattern of non-response among the latter again makes it difficult to interpret the results. The question was not asked of Black respondents.

TABLE 24: Whether Spouse is Same Ethnic Group
(Among married couples only)*

	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	57%	49%	79%	71%
No	42	30	12	3
NA	<u>1</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>26</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

*This question was not asked of Blacks.

Whether or not a person was born in another country often has measurable effects on both his life style and his attitudes.* Of all the groups, the Puerto Ricans appeared to be closest to their ethnic background, at least in terms of the birthplace of those interviewed. Every Puerto Rican respondent was born outside the continental United States. Greeks ranked second in this respect, with 68 per cent foreign-born, followed by Italians with 44 per cent and Irish with 20 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the Black respondents were born outside the United States.

TABLE 25: Whether Respondent is Foreign Born

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	2%	20%	44%	68%	100%
No	98	80	56	32	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Although Puerto Rico is part of the United States, the term "foreign-born" is used in referring to Puerto Ricans in order to avoid confusing terminology when discussing variables relating to place of birth and length of time in the continental United States.

The last variable to be considered in this section is that of generation: whether the respondent or the respondent's parents first came to this country as immigrants or whether immigration took place in some earlier generation.

TABLE 26: Generational Background of Native-Born Respondents

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican*</u>
Both parents foreign-born	0%	41%	48%	68%	
One parent foreign-born	2	26	20	13	
Both parents native-born	73	32	32	19	
NA	<u>25</u>	<u>**</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>	
	100%	99%	100%	100%	

Except among Blacks, the proportion of native-born respondents with native-born parents was relatively small, amounting to 32 per cent among both Irish and Italians and 19 per cent among Greeks. Two-fifths of the Irish, half the Italians, and two-thirds of the Greeks were first-generation Americans in the sense that both parents were born abroad.

*No Puerto Rican respondents were native-born.

**Less than 0.5 per cent.

E. Residential Mobility

An important indicator of how well people adjust to city life and cope with its unique problems is their background in terms of the degree of urbanization of the place they were born and how long they have lived in this country, in Boston, and in their present neighborhood.

Four-fifths of the Irish and half of the Italians were born in large metropolitan areas, but almost all of these were born in the Boston area and did not migrate from elsewhere. Only Blacks and Greeks migrated here in any number after being born in a large city. More than a quarter of the Blacks were born in small towns of 10,000 or less, while 44 per cent were born in all urban places of less than 50,000. Nearly two-thirds--62 per cent--of the Puerto Ricans were born in small cities of 10,000 to 50,000 population. No Puerto Ricans were born in large metropolitan areas, and no respondents at all were born on farms or in rural areas.

TABLE 27: Urbanization of Birthplace of Respondent

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Born in Boston	18%	79%	53%	16%	0%
Other City of					
- 650,000 or more	10	*	1	12	0
- 50,000 - 649,999	6	10	5	16	19
- 10,000 - 49,999	16	1	9	12	62
- Less than 10,000	28	5	3	8	0
Rural	0	0	0	0	0
Urbanization of birth- place NA	0	0	6	26	4
Town or region where born NA	22	5	23	10	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Population figures refer to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas or their foreign equivalent. 1960 figures were employed when available; otherwise, the most recent available figures were used. The population of the Boston SMSA in 1960 was 2,589,000.



The great majority of Blacks and Irish had lived in the United States all their lives. A majority of the Italians had been here twenty-five years or more, but while 40 per cent of the Greek respondents had been here that long, nearly one-quarter had arrived within the last four years. Very few Puerto Ricans had lived in the continental United States for more than ten years; half had been in the United States for four years or less.

TABLE 28: Length of Respondent's Residence in the United States

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Less than two years	0%	0%	0%	16%	21%
2 - 4 years	2	0	3	8	30
5 - 9 years	0	0	3	12	28
10 - 14 years	0	0	6	12	11
15 - 24 years	0	5	10	12	8
25 or more years	0	15	22	8	2
Born here	98	80	56	32	0
NA	0	0	0	2	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

Almost half of the Puerto Rican group had been in the Boston area less than two years, and virtually all had been here less than ten years. In contrast, most of the Irish had lived here twenty-five years or more, as had two-thirds of the Italians. Two-fifths of the Greeks had been here less than five years, but a quarter of this group had been in Boston twenty-five years or more. While relatively few Blacks had been in Boston more than twenty-five years, recent arrivals were not as common as among Greeks and Puerto Ricans.

TABLE 29: Length of Residence in Boston

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Less than two years	14%	0%	3%	16%	32%
2 - 4 years	20	10	3	18	38
5 - 9 years	12	1	4	12	24
10 - 14 years	14	1	6	12	4
15 - 24 years	10	1	15	14	2
25 or more years	26	81	68	28	0
NA	4	6	1	0	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

It is clear that the two groups which have been in Boston the longest, the Irish and the Italians, are also those with the greatest residential stability. In each case, over half of the respondents had lived in their present neighborhoods for twenty-five years or more. For both the Irish and the Italians, there is an almost perfect correlation between the length of time spent in Boston and the length of residence in the present neighborhood. A third group, Puerto Ricans, exhibit nearly as high a correlation--0.906--but their generally short-term residence in the City makes this less meaningful. At the other extreme, Blacks show the greatest mobility within the City; 76 per cent had lived in their present neighborhood (Mattapan) for less than four years, and 46 per cent for less than two years, producing a correlation coefficient of only 0.120. Greeks were somewhat less mobile, but half had lived in their present neighborhood less than four years.

TABLE 30: Length of Respondent's Residence in Neighborhood

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Less than 2 years	46%	1%	7%	26%	47%
2 - 4 years	30	11	5	24	38
5 - 9 years	12	5	9	12	11
10 - 14 years	4	11	8	14	4
15 - 24 years	6	11	15	16	0
25 or more years	0	56	55	8	0
NA	2	5	1	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Correlation with length of residence in Boston (Pearson's r value)					
	0.120	0.983	0.998	0.278	0.906

II. ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

Attitudes and life styles often vary significantly between different groups in a population. In the first part of this section, information is presented on how members of different groups feel about their own group. In the second part of the section, the ways in which members of different groups feel about other groups are examined. Finally, the ways in which members of different groups preserve their group identity are analyzed.

A. Attitudes About Own Group

Respondents were first asked to name the most important ways they felt members of their ethnic group differed from those of other groups. As the responses to this question could not be foreseen, answers were grouped under very broad headings. The category "traditions" includes religion, language, history and other customs. The category "group ties" includes sticking together and feeling affinity with other members of the group, and the category "work" includes such responses as working hard, achieving, self-improvement, thrift, and other similar answers. "Family ties" includes methods of child-rearing, responsibility toward other family members and taking care of each other. "Citizenship" includes both positive and negative aspects of such values as respect for the law, patriotism, and respect for the rights of others.

Many answers to this question constituted ways of saying either that there are no differences among ethnic groups or that the respondent did not wish to compare his group with others. More than half of the Irish respondents chose this type of answer, as did two-fifths of the Italians and nearly a third of the Blacks. On the basis of the theory that the ethnic groups who most recently came to this country are the most likely to hold onto their traditions, it would be predicted that a large number of Greeks and Puerto Ricans would point to traditions as singling their groups out from others, and, indeed, this is the case. In addition, one-fifth of the Greeks pointed to a propensity for hard work as a difference between Greeks and other groups, and one-third of the Blacks cited skin color. Few Puerto Ricans mentioned physical differences as distinguishing their group from others.

TABLE 31: Why Respondent's Ethnic Group is Different from Others

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Traditions	10%	6%	10%	28%	42%
Group solidarity	4	5	4	4	2
Strong family ties	0	*	13	12	0
Propensity for hard work	0	1	4	18	6
Citizenship	10	0	1	2	1
Physical characteristics	32	0	0	0	4
Personality, good	4	12	11	6	0
Personality, bad	2	6	7	4	0
Other	4	*	0	0	0
Won't generalize on principle	18	11	13	2	0
Can't compare--group like everyone else	4	21	14	8	9
Can't compare--some group members are good, some are bad	8	32	14	12	11
NA	4	6	9	4	25
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

*Less than 0.5%.

Respondents were much more willing to generalize when asked to name the good things about their group. However, more than one-third of the Puerto Ricans found nothing good about their group, as did 16 per cent of the Irish. Generally, many respondents from each group cited strong intra-group ties, a propensity for hard work, and positive personality characteristics as their group's strongest attributes, although there were some strong exceptions to this pattern. For example, only 5 per cent of the Irish and 6 per cent of the Puerto Ricans found a propensity for hard work to be a characteristic of their group, and only 4 per cent of the Blacks named positive personality characteristics. Other citations were scattered: only Italians and Greeks named family ties, only Irish and Greeks named citizenship, and only Blacks (but not many) named physical characteristics.

TABLE 32: Best Things About Own Ethnic Group

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Traditions	4%	10%	2%	12%	6%
Group solidarity	22	16	14	12	19
Strong family ties	0	0	13	10	0
Propensity for hard work	24	5	10	18	6
Citizenship	0	5	0	10	2
Physical characteristics	4	0	0	0	0
Personality	4	31	27	24	16
Other	4	1	3	2	0
Nothing is good	0	16	9	4	36
Won't generalize on principle	10	5	12	2	0
Can't compare--group like everyone else	6	0	4	0	2
Can't compare--some group members are good, some are bad	6	11	4	4	9
NA	16	*	2	2	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

When asked if there was anything they found embarrassing about members of their group, the greatest proportion of each group (with one exception) said that there was nothing. Forty-three per cent of the Irish, however, said that they were embarrassed by the propensity of Irish-Americans to be bad-tempered or heavy drinkers. About one-fifth of the Black, Italian, and Puerto Rican respondents also mentioned these characteristics, but the Irish response is striking because these respondents mentioned almost no other examples of behavior they found embarrassing. One-fifth of the Black and Puerto Rican respondents mentioned criminal behavior, either by individuals or in the form of riots, as embarrassing. At least as measured by the proportion of those who gave no examples of embarrassing behavior, these two groups showed the least pride or sense of group worth. Greek respondents were at the other extreme; very few cited embarrassing traits.

TABLE 33: Embarrassing Things about Group

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Traditions (keep or don't keep)	2%	0%	3%	8%	0%
Clannish or don't stick together	14	5	4	0	4
Don't improve selves	6	0	8	0	0
Criminals, riots	18	5	7	0	21
Personality	18	43	18	6	22
Other	0	*	5	2	2
Nothing is bad	24	41	47	74	38
Won't generalize	4	0	3	2	2
Can't compare--group like everyone else	6	1	0	0	2
Can't compare--some group members are good, some are bad	0	5	3	2	0
NA	8	0	2	6	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Respondents were also asked whether they generally felt a special pride when a member of their ethnic group achieved public success. Two-thirds or more in each group did so.

TABLE 34: Whether Proud of Success of Group Members

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	78%	72%	66%	82%	70%
No	22	28	33	16	30
NA	0	0	1	2	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Respondents then were asked if there was any particular person of their own ethnic extraction of whom they were particularly proud. The responses were coded first for the number of people mentioned and then for the occupation or reason for fame of the people mentioned.



Nearly two-thirds of the Italian respondents and more than half of the Puerto Ricans did not mention anyone of whom they felt proud. Black and Irish respondents mentioned the greatest number of people of whom they were proud, and 40 per cent of the Greeks also mentioned two or more. The Blacks, overall, named the greatest number.

TABLE 35: Number of People Mentioned

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
None	26%	28%	64%	18%	56%
One	6	8	13	40	32
Two	20	26	7	16	4
Three	20	22	10	12	4
Four or more	28	16	6	12	2
NA	0	0	0	2	2
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

The majority of Irish and Greek respondents who mentioned anyone, mentioned a figure in national politics; for all practical purposes, the Irish named only political figures, generally the Kennedys. One-third of the Black respondents named someone in the civil rights field, most often Martin Luther King or other black leaders of the older generation. Only a few mentioned young leaders such as Eldridge Cleaver, although several mentioned Malcolm X. Many Greeks were proud of Spiro Agnew, and several mentioned Boston businessmen and restaurant owners. A substantial number of Puerto Ricans named a friend or relative. Actors and entertainers were mentioned by many Blacks, Italians, and Puerto Ricans.

TABLE 36: Type of Person Proud of

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
None mentioned	26%	28%	64%	18%	58%
National politics	6	71	8	50	0
State or local politics	0	0	5	6	4
Athlete	6	*	1	2	2
Actor, other entertainer	22	0	10	2	13
Civil rights	34	0	0	0	2
Educator, or intellectual	4	0	5	2	0
Friend, relative	2	1	3	8	13
Other	0	0	4	10	6
NA	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Respondents were also asked whether they felt they should do something to help their country of origin if it were in trouble with a belligerent.

TABLE 37: Whether Should Help Country of Origin

	<u>Black*</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican**</u>
Yes	-	72%	72%	86%	-
No	-	17	22	4	-
NA	-	11	6	10	-
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	

A majority of respondents in all groups felt that they should help their country of origin. Almost 90 per cent of the Greek respondents felt this way.

*This question was not asked of Black respondents.

**Returns from Puerto Rican respondents are not shown because it was not specified whether "country of origin" meant the United States or a hypothetically independent Puerto Rico.

B. Attitudes About Other Groups

While the self-image of ethnic individuals is extremely important, so also is their perception of other ethnic groups. Attitudes about racial, religious or ethnic intermarriage show the degree to which members of ethnic groups are concerned with retaining an ethnic identity. It is widely recognized that this special identity is gradually lost as members of the group marry into other groups with other identities and merge into a "typical" American self-image. Although this American norm is difficult to define and varies regionally and in other ways, it can be said with certainty that it is somewhat different than that found in self-consciously cohesive ethnic groups.

Another aspect of intergroup relations, attitudes about the ethnic composition of schools, is also examined in this section.

It is apparent that religious intermarriage is not a particularly upsetting issue to most respondents in this sample. The greatest number of respondents in all ethnic groups said they would not be upset if their child married someone of a different religion. Only the Greek group had a substantial number of respondents who said they would be very upset at this type of intermarriage. Although more than 90 per cent of the Greek respondents belonged to a single religion (Greek Orthodox), an even larger share of Italians were Catholic, so that the attitudes about intermarriage do not appear to be related to the proportion of people in the group identified with a single religion.

TABLE 38: Feelings If Respondent's Child Married
a Person of Another Religion

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Very upset	10%	5%	10%	38%	17%
Somewhat upset	8	12	24	22	13
Not upset	78	77	66	40	70
NA	4	6	0	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Again, the great majority of all ethnic group members except Greeks would not be upset if their children married members of other ethnic groups. Although Greeks and Puerto Ricans were similar in being the most ethnocentric groups as measured by other variables, they differed sharply on this question.

TABLE 39: Feelings If Respondent's Child Married
a Person of Another Ethnic Group

	<u>Black*</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Very upset	-	0%	0%	24%	4%
Somewhat upset	-	0	8	20	4
Not upset	-	95	92	56	83
NA	-	5	0	0	9
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		100%	100%	100%	100%

*This question was not asked of Black respondents.



Feelings about racial intermarriage were much stronger than those concerning other aspects of inter-group relations. Clearly, racial intermarriage was perceived as a great threat by the Italians and Greeks, two-thirds or more of whom reported that they would be "very upset" if a child of theirs married a person of another race. At the other extreme, the Blacks and the Puerto Ricans seemed to exhibit much less pronounced feelings of group exclusivity. Only 10 per cent of the Blacks and 8 per cent of the Puerto Ricans reported that they would be very upset by a prospective intermarriage; indeed, four-fifths of the respondents in each group would not be upset at all at that prospect. It seems clear that this threat has little to do with preserving ethnic identity per se, as the Italians and Irish were not threatened by religious or ethnic intermarriage.

TABLE 40: Feelings If Respondent's Child Married
a Person of Another Race

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Very upset	10%	36%	62%	70%	8%
Somewhat upset	8	23	19	14	11
Not upset	78	31	11	14	81
NA	4	10	8	2	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Very few respondents in any group thought that schools should be composed entirely or almost entirely of children from their own ethnic group. Blacks and Puerto Ricans were strongly in favor of an even balance, while a large proportion of all other groups favored a mixture of less than half composed of their own group. More than half of the Irish and 39 per cent of the Italians said they thought classes should be a general mixture, that it didn't matter, or that they would not answer because they thought it wrong to categorize people according to ethnicity or national background. However, these results may have been affected by the fact that respondents were not asked for attitudes toward racial integration or mixture with specific other groups, but simply about the optimum proportion of children of their own extraction in the schools.

TABLE 41: Optimum Group Representation in the Schools

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
All own group	2%	0%	5%	6%	9%
Mostly own group	2	1	3	8	4
Half and half	60	6	13	30	41
Less than half own group	8	32	19	22	17
Almost none of own group	2	2	13	10	23
Just mixed, general	6	30	9	6	0
Refused to answer on principle	4	11	10	8	4
Doesn't matter	10	13	20	6	2
NA	6	5	8	4	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Respondents were also asked to explain their reasons for feeling as they did about the optimum representation of their group in the schools. Although a third of the Irish and Italians failed to respond to the question, a majority in almost every case gave more reasons for mixing than for not mixing. A substantial block of respondents, ranging from 38 per cent among Italians to 62 per cent among Puerto Ricans, stated that children should learn to get along with all kinds of people. Relatively few seemed to take the position that ethnic distinctions make no difference, but one-fifth of the Irish respondents and smaller proportions of respondents from other groups stated that good schools were the important matter, not ethnic composition.

Only Greeks and Puerto Ricans offered any number of reservations about mixing. Sixteen per cent of the Greek respondents felt that while learning from others was a good thing, ethnic ties were of equal importance, while an additional 18 per cent of the Greeks and 13 per cent of the Puerto Ricans took the stronger position that children should grow up with their own kind. Only 6 per cent of the Black respondents took this position, while 12 per cent supported integration because Black children were treated better or got a better education in schools that were predominantly white.

TABLE 42: Basis of Opinion on Optimum Group Representation in the Schools

<u>Reasons for Mixing or not Mixing</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
<u>Mix:</u>					
- It doesn't matter; all children are the same	0%	1%	12%	2%	0%
- It shouldn't matter; children shouldn't be taught to care	0	*	0	2	2
- Children should learn to get along with all kinds	56	40	38	44	62
- Black children get better education or treatment in predominantly white schools	12	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	68%	41%	50%	48%	64%
<u>Mix, but . . . :</u>					
- Learning from others and maintaining ties with own group are both important	0	0	0	16	2
- Good schools are important, not ethnic composition	12	22	8	4	8
<u>Don't mix:</u>					
- Children should grow up with their own kind	6	*	5	18	13
Other	4	0	4	6	9
NA	10	36	33	8	4
	100%	99%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

C. Observation of Traditional Practices

Respondents were asked a series of questions to determine their attitudes about whether Americans of foreign extraction should maintain their traditions, whether they observed traditional practices in their homes for the benefit of their children, and whether they felt the history and culture of their group should be taught in the schools. For comparative purposes, respondents of all Caucasian groups were asked whether Black children should receive instruction in Black history in the schools.

As might have been predicted, respondents from the groups which have most recently arrived in the United States were those who felt most strongly that America would be a better place "...if everyone kept the customs and traditions of their own group and respected those of other groups...." Puerto Ricans and Greeks supported this statement the most strongly, followed by Irish and Italians. Forty-six per cent of the Blacks, on the other hand, felt that people should forget their traditions, supporting the statement that "America would be a better place to live if everyone would forget where they came from and be 100 per cent American." Blacks in this sample were, of course, native Americans to a far greater extent than any of the other groups and could view such a question with a greater degree of abstraction.

TABLE 43: "America Would be a Better Place if
Ethnic-Americans Maintained Their Traditions"

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	38%	59%	51%	86%	90%
No	46	41	40	12	6
NA	16	0	9	2	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Caucasian respondents with children were asked whether they had ever done anything in their home to make their children aware of their special ethnic background. Although the exclusion from this question of respondents without children makes comparison difficult, it appears that in the best possible case (i.e., that all those without children observe traditional practices) not as many respondents observed practices as thought it a good idea. Again, many more Greeks and Puerto Ricans than Irish and Italians reported that they observed some traditional customs. The Irish were the most strongly opposed to such practices; 60 per cent did not make an effort to observe their group's customs, and 15 per cent objected to such observances on principle.*

TABLE 44: Are Ethnic Traditions Observed for the Benefit of Children?

	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	23%	46%	60%	62%
<u>No:</u>				
- Don't make an effort to do so, but observe some customs	11	9	4	4
- Children aren't interested	0	4	0	0
- Such observance wrong on principle	15	0	0	0
- Never (unqualified)	34	18	4	0
NA	5	0	2	6
No children	12	23	30	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%

*A difficulty with these comparisons is that some cultures have many more customs and traditional practices than others. Therefore, some caution is advisable in accepting these results.

The relatively few Irish and Italian respondents who reported observing ethnic customs in the home tended to report fewer customs than Greek and Puerto Rican respondents. Almost half of the Greeks observed five or more ethnic traditions, while more than half the Puerto Ricans observed three or more. These represent nearly all the Greeks and Puerto Ricans who had children.

TABLE 45: Number of Customs Reported

	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
None	54%	22%	6%	6%
One	6	4	0	0
Two	5	13	6	9
Three	12	11	2	19
Four	6	15	8	21
Five or more	5	12	46	17
No children	12	23	30	28
NA	0	0	2	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

Three kinds of customs were reported to be about equally followed by those who observed traditional practices for the benefit of their children: observance of holidays, dancing and listening to music, and serving traditional food.* These three customs accounted for between 59 per cent and 77 per cent of all the observances reported by each group. Ethnically-founded religious practices were significant only among Irish and Greek households, while teaching or speaking the native language in the home accounted for about one-sixth of the customs reported by Italian, Greek, and Puerto Rican respondents. Greeks and Puerto Ricans were the only groups to report teaching their children about their heritage.

TABLE 46: Kinds of Customs Observed to
Make Children Aware of Their Heritage

	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Holidays	24%	27%	20%	17%
Music, dance	37	19	20	23
Food	16	28	19	27
Religion	7	2	11	3
Teach language	0	8	1	1
Speak language	0	7	17	14
Teach heritage	0	0	8	11
Other	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Table 46 describes the kinds of traditional practices respondents follow at home to make their children more aware of their background. The figures in the table are percentages of the total number of practices mentioned by respondents in each group, not, as in other tables, the distribution of respondents mentioning them. The responses of those who had no children or who did not expose their children to ethnic practices are not included.

Respondents from all groups were also asked whether Black children should learn their group's history. Predictably, four-fifths of the Black respondents thought this very important, while only 8 per cent thought it not so important--percentages which closely approximate those describing the attitudes of Greeks and Puerto Ricans to learning their own histories. However, only about two-thirds of these respondents felt that it was important for Black children to learn Black history, while many more felt that such instruction was not important for Blacks than had this feeling about similar instruction for children of their own extraction.

While only about half of the Irish and Italian respondents felt that learning about their history was important for Black children, more felt this way about Blacks than about children of their own extraction. Moreover, fewer Irish and Italians felt it was not important to teach Black history than felt teaching their own history was unimportant. This somewhat anomalous finding perhaps has to do with the previous findings that Greeks and Puerto Ricans seem more ethnocentric than Irish and Italians.

TABLE 48: Whether Black Children Should Learn Black History

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Very important	80%	55%	46%	66%	64%
Somewhat important	10	27	21	14	11
Not important	8	13	24	14	19
NA	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

III. EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS, JOB HISTORIES, AND TRAINING

In previous chapters, the characteristics of each of the five ethnic groups were analyzed in terms of standard demographic variables as well as in the context of the attitudes, degree of assimilation, and cultural identity shown by each group. In this chapter, the occupational histories and patterns of interaction with the labor market that characterize each group will be analyzed in greater detail to provide a basis for manpower policy development. The section begins with an examination of the employment characteristics of heads of households and of their job histories and training experiences. It ends with a discussion of employment as it relates to other household members, in particular, wives of household heads.

A. Employment Characteristics of Household Heads

As already noted in Chapter I, the rate of participation in the labor force ranged from 55 per cent among Puerto Rican household heads to 84 per cent among Blacks and Greeks. Among those in the labor force, the majority in every group but the Irish were in blue-collar trades, while the proportion of white-collar to blue-collar workers among the other groups ranged from less than 1:2 among Blacks to 1:17 among Puerto Ricans. Clerical workers, operatives, and service workers were the largest groups of Blacks in the labor force, while 25 per cent of the Irish were managers or proprietors. Craftsmen,

operatives, and service workers accounted for one-fifth each of the Italian heads. Greeks and Puerto Ricans were the only groups predominantly concentrated in a single trade; 35 per cent of the former were in service occupations, and 42 per cent of the latter were operatives. Unemployment ranged from none among Greeks to 16 per cent among the Irish and 19 per cent among the Puerto Ricans.

TABLE 49: Occupations of Household Heads in the Labor Force

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
<u>White Collar</u>					
Professional	7%	9%	9%	9%	0%
Manager, proprietor	3	25	0	9	4
Clerical	19	9	2	9	0
Sales	2	0	6	0	0
All White Collar	31%	43%	17%	27%	4%
<u>Blue Collar</u>					
Craftsman, foreman	14	18	18	18	4
Operative	19	13	21	11	42
Service worker	19	2	21	35	19
Laborer	2	1	14	0	4
All Blue Collar	54%	34%	74%	64%	69%
Looking for work, occupation NA (unemployment rate)	7	16	4	0	19
NA	7	7	6	9	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Only a minority of working household heads were self-employed. Among Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Italians the percentage of self-employed heads was below 10 per cent. Among the Irish and the Greeks the percentage was significantly higher: 20 per cent for the Irish and 22 per cent for the Greeks.

TABLE 50: Who Head Works for

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Self	8%	20%	6%	22%	5%
Someone else	85	80	90	71	90
Both	2	0	2	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0
NA	5	0	2	7	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The majority of working household heads among all groups except the Greeks worked full-time; that is, between thirty and forty-four hours per week. Forty-seven per cent of all employed Greek household heads worked more than forty-four hours per week, and fully 20 per cent were found to work for fifty-five hours or more. Indeed, all groups include a significant percentage of employed heads who worked for more than forty-four hours per week: 35 per cent among the Irish, 34 per cent among the Puerto Ricans, 24 per cent among the Italians, and 16 per cent among the Blacks. On the other hand, the percentage of employed household heads in each group who worked part-time is significant only among Irish. There were no part-time workers among the Greeks and Puerto Ricans, and only 2 per cent among Italians, 5 per cent among Blacks, and 10 per cent among Irish.

TABLE 51: Hours of Employment of Working Heads

		<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
29 or less	Part-time	5%	10%	2%	0%	0%
30 - 44	Full-time	74	54	72	44	57
45 or more	Over-time	16	35	24	47	34
NA		5	1	2	9	9
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The reasons given for their part-time status by those who were not working full-time varied greatly from group to group. As noted above, no part-time workers were encountered among Greeks or Puerto Ricans and only very few among Italians, which may be due to the small size of the sample from which responses were drawn. The number of part-time workers encountered among the other three groups may have also been affected by the size of the sample, but it may nevertheless be of interest to examine their reasons for not working full-time. Among the Irish, who had the largest percentage of part-time workers of any group, almost all were retired persons who may have been working to supplement incomes from pensions or social security or simply to avoid idleness. Among Blacks, lack of needed skills, health, and other family or personal responsibilities were equally frequent reasons for not working full-time.

TABLE 52: Why Head Not Working Full-Time

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Lack skills	25%	0%	-	0%	0%
Retired	0	94	-	0	0
Health	25	0	-	0	0
Other responsibilities	25	0	-	0	0
No desire	0	0	-	0	0
Other	0	6	-	0	0
NA	25	0	-	0	0
	100%	100%	-	---	---

Union membership among employed heads of households was heaviest for the Italians and the Irish. Fifty-six per cent of employed Italian heads belonged to a union, as did 55 per cent of employed Irish heads. On the other hand, only 21 per cent of employed Greek heads of households (among whom, it will be recalled, a relatively large share were self-employed) were found to be union members. Blacks and Puerto Ricans fell between these extremes at 33 per cent and 43 per cent, respectively.

The proportion of union membership within each ethnic group may be due to the occupations which its members follow and the period in which they originally settled in Boston. All groups showing a significant percentage of union members also have a high percentage of workers who are craftsmen or operatives. Twenty-five per cent of the Italians and 20 per cent of the Irish fall into these two occupational categories as do 30 per cent of the Blacks, 25 per cent of the Puerto Ricans and 26 per cent of the Greeks. However, this is not the only important factor, since groups with similar percentages of workers in the craftsmen and operative categories have greatly different proportions of union membership. The Irish and the Italians, most of whom have been Boston residents for twenty-five years or more, doubtless have established access to certain occupations and to the appropriate unions. On the other hand, most Greeks have been in the City for less than fifteen years (over half for less than five years) and may suffer some handicaps as a result. Similarly, Blacks and Puerto Ricans

are, for the most part, recent arrivals in Boston, and their occupational status, and thus access to unions, may be affected by this as well as by racial discrimination and language difficulties.

TABLE 53: Union Membership

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Proportion of all heads belonging to a union, excluding retirees and those who had never worked	33%	55%	56%	21%	43%

B. Job Histories and Training
Experiences of Household Heads

Most of the Irish and Italian heads who were working were employed at jobs which they had had for five years or more. This is not surprising in view of the fact that, in terms of residence in Boston, these two groups are the most established. Since a substantial proportion of Blacks and Greeks had been in Boston for less than five years, the percentage of workers in these groups who had had the same job for five years or more is, predictably, lower. Among Puerto Ricans, 71 per cent of whom had been in Boston for five years or less, only 10 per cent were employed at jobs they had had for five years or more.

TABLE 54: Length of Head's Employment in Present Job

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Employed five years or longer	44%	77%	58%	42%	10%
Employed less than five years	51	23	40	51	85
NA	5	0	2	7	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Among those surveyed who had been employed in their present job for five years or less the rate of job turnover for the last five years was fairly high. Most heads in each of the five groups had two or three jobs during this period. The Irish, however, include a number who had only one other job, while some Italians and Puerto Ricans had four jobs or more during the five years in question.

TABLE 55: Number of Jobs Held by Head in the Last Five Years
(Excluding those who had had their present job
five years or more)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
1 other job	9%	41%	14%	4%	11%
2 other jobs	46	5	43	60	20
3 other jobs	18	46	14	18	42
4 other jobs	0	0	10	0	5
5 or more	9	5	14	4	11
NA	18	3	5	14	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



Among the Irish, 68 per cent of those who had changed jobs in the five years before the survey said that the reason for their most recent job change was the type of work they had been doing. This was not a frequent response among other groups, nor did any other group have a single predominant reason to explain the most recent job shift. However, pay figured highly in the considerations of Puerto Ricans, Italians and Blacks. The Italians cited job security among other reasons for the change, but this was not important for other groups. Poor health was a major cause of job turnover among Puerto Ricans.

TABLE 56: Reason Head Left Last Job

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
<u>Job Related</u>					
Working conditions	5%	5%	17%	4%	6%
Dislike for type of work	15	68	0	0	0
Temporary job	10	0	0	4	0
Got a better job	5	4	0	18	0
Other job-related	0	0	0	4	6
All job-related	35%	77%	17%	30%	12%
<u>Financial</u>					
Insufficient pay	15	9	28	7	38
Lack of job security	0	5	22	0	6
Other financial	5	5	0	4	0
All financial	20%	19%	50%	11%	44%
<u>Personal or Individual</u>					
Laid off or fired	5	4	5	0	0
Retired	0	0	6	4	0
Poor health, disabled	5	0	0	0	6
Moved from area	5	0	0	26	19
Other personal	5	0	0	0	6
All personal	20%	4%	11%	30%	31%
Other	0	0	0	3	0
NA	25	0	22	26	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Despite the high rate of turnover of those employed at their present jobs for less than five years, few heads in any of the groups were looking for another job.

TABLE 57: Permanence in Present Position

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Looking for a different job	.8%	9%	4%	9%	9%
Not looking for a different job	84	91	94	82	82
NA	8	0	2	9	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The majority of heads in each of the groups felt that, in the event of a cut-back at their places of work, they would be the last to be laid off. However, a substantial percentage of all groups except the Greeks felt that they would be laid off first. Thirty-two per cent of the Irish expressed this sentiment as did 22 per cent of the Puerto Ricans, 18 per cent of the Blacks, and 17 per cent of the Italians.

TABLE 58: Expected Prospects in a General Lay-off

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Would be laid off first	18%	32%	17%	10%	22%
Last	55	52	62	57	61
Middle	6	3	7	0	0
Only employee	3	0	5	0	6
NA	18	13	9	33	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The great majority of employed household heads found their present jobs on their own, either through personal contacts or some kind of advertisement or help wanted sign. Except among Blacks, public or private job referral agencies played a very minor role in the successful job seeking efforts of those surveyed. Among that group, agency referrals were cited by 14 per cent of those surveyed. This relatively high proportion is not surprising in view of the fact that Blacks generally seem to have had more contact with social service agencies than other groups (as described in Chapter IV, below).

TABLE 59: Head Found Present Job Through . . .

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
<u>Agency Placement</u>					
ABCD	3%	9%	0%	0%	0%
State agency	3	0	0	0	0
Private agency	5	0	0	0	0
Other agency	3	0	0	0	5
All Agencies	14%	9%	0%	0%	5%
<u>Other Formal Placement</u>					
School	5	0	0	2	0
Civil Service	0	10	0	0	0
Union	0	1	2	0	0
All Other Placements	5%	11%	2%	2%	0%
<u>Informal - Haphazard</u>					
Personal contacts	15	34	44	42	57
Advertisements	20	3	2	11	5
Walked in off street	15	21	18	11	14
Started own business	5	9	8	11	5
Other informal	13	3	20	5	0
All Informal	68%	70%	92%	80%	81%
<u>All Other</u>	0	0	0	5	0
NA	13	10	6	13	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Of the five ethnic groups in the survey only Puerto Ricans did not display at least a moderate proportion of employed household heads who had undergone some type of job training. Blacks showed the highest proportion of such heads, but that of the Irish was only slightly lower.

TABLE 60: Special Training among
Presently Employed Household Heads

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	36%	34%	26%	22%	5%
No	56	66	70	69	86
NA	8	0	4	9	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In two cases, the proportion of household heads who had undergone some type of job training was strikingly higher among those who were not working than among those who were. Twenty-eight per cent more out-of-work Greek heads had had such training than had those in work, and 20 per cent more Blacks. Among Irish and Puerto Ricans, the proportions were nearly equal; only among Italians was there a greater proportion of trained heads among the employed. Though it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from these comparisons, they may indicate that, at least among those in the sample for this survey, training is not a decisive factor in obtaining employment.

TABLE 61: Special Training among Non-Working Household Heads

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	56%	33%	14%	50%	6%
No	33	67	86	50	94
NA	11	0	0	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The type of training received by employed household heads varied with each group. However, there were large proportions of Blacks, Italians and Greeks for whom no answers concerning type of training were available, and among Puerto Ricans there were no responses at all on this item. Only among the Irish did a large number of persons respond to this question.

Among the Greeks and Italians for whom answers are available, private vocational schools and the training programs of employers were the most frequent types of training. Among the Irish, union programs and OEO-ABCD manpower programs were the most frequently cited. In fact, the Irish and a very small number of Blacks were the only groups which participated in federally-funded training programs. Union programs show up only among the two groups, the Irish and the Italians, in which union membership is highest.

TABLE 62: Type of Training Received by Employed Household Heads

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Private vocational school	12%	4%	26%	38%	0%
Professional school	6	3	7	0	0
Union program	0	31	7	0	0
Employer program	13	2	7	24	0
OEO-ABCD	6	28	0	0	0
State	0	0	0	0	0
Other	13	28	0	0	0
NA	50	4	53	38	100
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

C. Employment Characteristics of Household Members

All the ethnic groups in the survey included a number of households in which the head was not the only employed person in the household. The usual number of employed persons in such households was two, these being the household head and his or her spouse. In some households, the other employed person was someone other than the head's spouse, and in a few cases more than two persons in the household were employed. The Greeks had an especially large proportion of households in which more than two persons were employed, the number going as high as five. This was an unusual phenomenon, however, not duplicated among other groups.

TABLE 63: Number Working in Household

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Single person households or no one working	30%	52%	33%	14%	55%
1 person working	36	29	31	30	32
2 persons working	32	17	24	38	11
3 persons working	2	1	9	0	0
4 persons working	0	0	3	8	0
5 persons working	0	0	0	2	0
6 persons working	0	1	0	0	0
NA	0	0	0	8	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



TABLE 64: Who in Household Was Working

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Single person households or no one working	30%	52%	33%	14%	55%
Head	26	29	26	24	28
Head, spouse	28	11	26	36	6
Head, other	6	8	10	10	4
Spouse	2	*	1	2	0
Spouse, other	0	0	0	0	1
Child	6	0	3	4	2
Child, other	0	0	0	2	0
Other	2	*	1	0	2
NA	0	0	0	8	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

The wife of the head was working in half or more of Black and Greek households and in over one-third of Italian households. By contrast, only a small share of Irish and Puerto Rican households included working wives.

TABLE 65: Wife Working

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	68%	21%	38%	50%	12%
No	32	79	62	42	84
NA	0	0	0	8	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Income was the most frequently cited reason for a wife's working role. However, among Blacks, Italians and Greeks, some said that the wife was working because she enjoyed it, and among the Irish both reasons were cited frequently. It is interesting that income was the only reason cited by Puerto Ricans, although this may be affected by the fact that nearly a third of the Puerto Ricans concerned in this question did not respond.

TABLE 66: Why Wife Was Working

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Income	40%	46%	43%	55%	67%
Enjoyment	27	8	33	27	0
Both	20	43	10	0	0
Other	0	0	5	4	0
NA	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>33</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Though income was the reason most frequently cited for the fact that the wife worked, the majority of responses by most groups indicate that financial problems would not result if the wife stopped working for some reason. This was not the case among Puerto Ricans, among whom all those with working wives indicated that financial problems would result if the wife did not work. The other groups, especially the Irish, also had substantial minorities among whom this would be the case.

TABLE 67: Would the Household Have Financial Difficulties if the Wife Did Not Work?

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	33%	43%	24%	32%	100%
No	60	54	71	54	0
NA	7	3	5	14	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Most respondents in all groups and all of those among Blacks said when the wife in the household was not working that it was because she was needed at home. Age was a frequent response from Irish and Italian respondents, the two groups having the highest median age. Health figured prominently among the responses of Puerto Ricans and to a lesser extent among those of the Irish and the Italians. Lack of desire was also a factor among Irish.

TABLE 69: Why the Wife is not Working

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Age	0%	18%	17%	0%	0%
Health	0	19	17	6	38
Needed at home	100	42	61	59	62
Doesn't want to	0	21	5	6	0
No jobs	0	0	0	6	0
NA	0	0	0	23	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

IV. AWARENESS OF SOCIAL SERVICES

This section examines the awareness of members of the five ethnic groups studied of two types of social services available in Boston, job training and child care, and also describes the manner in which members of the five groups rated the effectiveness of four Boston agencies or groups of agencies, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, the municipal Little City Hall program, Action for Boston Community Development, and Area Planning-Action Councils. Over-all, analysis of responses to questions treated in this section seems to indicate that there is little correspondence between awareness of programs and the apparent needs of certain groups for services. Instead, familiarity with social programs seems to be more directly a result of length of residence in Boston, with newer residents much less informed about services and participating in programs to a much lesser extent than older, more established groups. Moreover, while many respondents gave favorable opinions on the effectiveness of the social agencies on which they were specifically queried, relatively few had taken advantage of the services of these agencies or knew where to go to obtain their help.

A. Awareness of Job Training Programs

An overwhelming majority of Black respondents indicated that they had heard of job training programs. Italians followed the Black respondents in awareness of this type of service; 70 per cent were familiar with vocational training opportunities in Boston. In contrast, only half of the Puerto Rican sample knew that such programs were available to them.

TABLE 70: Have Heard of Job Training Programs

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	90%	58%	70%	56%	49%
No	10	42	24	44	51
NA	0	0	6	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



Awareness of the existence of job training opportunities does not necessarily indicate that respondents knew where to obtain these services. The proportion of those in each ethnic group who could name particular programs was lower than that for knowledge of the availability of programs, with the gap between general and specific information largest for Italian and Greek respondents.

Blacks knew where to acquire job skills to a much greater extent than the other groups. While 84 per cent of the Black sample had specific knowledge of training programs, approximately half of the Irish and Italian respondents and only one-third of the Greeks and Puerto Ricans could name agencies sponsoring this type of service.

TABLE 71: Specificity of Knowledge of Job Training Programs

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes, have heard, but do not know specifics	6%	11%	23%	24%	15%
Yes, and know specifics	84	47	47	32	34
No, have not heard of programs	10	42	24	44	51
NA	0	0	6	0	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

In terms of specific training programs mentioned, those sponsored by Action for Boston Community Development, the City's anti-poverty agency, were best known to respondents, being cited by members of all the groups surveyed. A majority of the Black respondents and one-third of the Puerto Ricans who named specific programs cited training services provided by ABCD. A substantial portion of Irish, Italian and Greek respondents also mentioned ABCD as a source of training.

Respondents frequently named vocational schools as a resource for job training services. Greeks and Italians specified vocational, technical and trade school courses more frequently than other groups as a means for acquiring job skills. Other sources for vocational training that were cited with some frequency were regular school courses and state-supported programs. These were mentioned chiefly by Irish and Italian respondents.

TABLE 72: Specific Training Programs Named

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Vocational school	14%	2%	21%	38%	6%
Employer	2	2	6	0	0
Professional school	0	0	0	12	0
Union	2	0	0	0	0
Regular school courses	0	35	13	0	6
ABCD	65	25	13	12	32
State	0	23	8	0	0
Other	12	12	26	26	56
NA, Don't know the name	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Most respondents with specific knowledge referred to locations or gave the names of schools or other organizations engaged in training, such as the Boston Trade School or the YMCA. An exceptionally large proportion of the Black sample could give this information, while responses from other ethnic groups covered a wider range of less specific knowledge.

TABLE 73: Kinds of Specific Knowledge About Job Training Programs

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
General	2%	11%	5%	6%	12%
Place to ask	2	1	5	0	6
General types of services	0	1	0	0	6
General types of agencies	0	14	13	19	12
Names of agencies	17	23	16	0	6
Specific locations, names of schools	79	49	45	56	46
Other	0	0	11	13	12
NA	0	1	5	6	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

B. Awareness of Day Care Programs

Aside from job training, perhaps the most universally needed social welfare service is child care. Black respondents were the most knowledgeable about the child care programs available in Boston; nine-tenths of those sampled from this group indicated that they had heard of these services. Three-quarters of the Italians knew of child care services, while almost as high a percentage of Greek and Irish respondents had also heard of their availability. Only half of the Puerto Ricans sampled were familiar with the availability of this type of service.

TABLE 74: Have Heard of Child Care Programs

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	90%	69%	74%	68%	51%
No	8	31	26	30	49
NA	2	0	0	2	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Not all respondents were equally concerned with child care services in a practical way, however. Most were members of families without children in or near the appropriate age groups for child care services, although almost half of the Puerto Rican sample had children of the age group served by child care programs. The comparatively large proportion of this group with children eligible for child care contrasts with the small share aware of these services. On the other hand, only 18 per cent of the Irish respondents had children between three and twelve years old, a much smaller percentage than that for the other groups, yet 69 per cent were aware that day care services were available.

TABLE 75: Respondents with Children Ages 3 to 12

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	34%	18%	36%	38%	47%
No	66	82	64	62	53
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Although only a small proportion of respondents with children aged three to twelve had enrolled their children in a day care program, the majority in every group except the Irish said they would do so if such facilities were available at a cost they could afford. Acceptance of these services was highest among Greeks and Puerto Ricans, while nearly two-thirds of the Irish said they would not use day care even if it was available. Only the Italians were already using it in any number.

TABLE 76: Attitudes Toward Day Care Services among Respondents with Children Aged 3 to 12

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Presently using day care facilities	6%	2%	14%	0%	0%
Would use if available	59	34	50	89	73
Would not use if available	29	62	36	11	27
NA	6	2	0	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

A small return made it necessary to combine the responses of all families with children aged three to twelve on the question of how the wife would or does occupy the time released by her children's enrollment in a day care center. Thus, most Black, Italian and Greek respondents with children would use or already use child care services in order to supplement family income through part-time or full-time employment. In contrast, wives in many Irish and Puerto Rican families would remain at home if their children were enrolled in day care programs. Many Puerto Ricans and Blacks reported that wives would utilize the time made available for job skill training or additional schooling.

TABLE 77: Reasons for Use of Day Care Services
(Among Respondents with Children Aged 3 to 12)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Wife would stay home	0%	83%	16%	0%	32%
Wife would work part-time	36	17	63	41	12
Wife would work full-time	27	0	16	48	12
Wife would train for work	18	0	0	0	6
Wife would go to school	9	0	5	11	32
NA	10	0	0	0	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Because so few respondents indicated why they would not or did not use day care services, their opinions are not reported in numerical form. Overall, negative attitudes toward child care centers stemmed from the respondents' desire to keep the children home with

their mothers. Among Blacks, however, this reason was not as important as the opinion that child care programs offered services of poor quality.

Despite the large body of favorable opinions of child care services and the eligibility of many respondents for this type of program, few among all those surveyed knew where children could be enrolled, or, with the exception of Blacks, could name specific child care programs. The gap between general awareness of day care services and information about specific programs was most striking among Greeks, of whom only 14 per cent knew where to obtain services. However, overall awareness was lowest among Puerto Rican respondents.

TABLE 78: Specificity of Knowledge of Day Care Services
(Among All Respondents)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes, have heard, but no specifics	34%	24%	33%	54%	21%
Yes, and knows specifics	56	45	41	14	30
No, have not heard of programs	8	31	26	30	49
NA	2	0	0	2	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

Voluntary agencies and Head Start classes were named most often as sources for child care services. Head Start, a federally-funded pre-school program sponsored by ABCD, was cited by more than one-third of the Italian respondents but not named at all by Greeks or Puerto Ricans. A sizeable portion of the Black sample for this question gave privately operated centers as examples of where child care services could be obtained.

TABLE 79: Specific Child Care Programs Named
(Among All Respondents)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Private, for profit day care centers	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Voluntary agencies	31	26	29	14	29
Head Start (ABCD)	10	15	36	0	0
Public, city, state- operated	0	0	0	14	7
Business or industry- operated	3	11	0	0	0
Cooperatives	0	0	0	0	0
Private individual	0	0	0	0	0
Other	14	14	29	43	57
NA, can't name specifics	25	34	6	29	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

A large proportion of respondents were able to name a specific agency or location where day care services could be obtained. Most of the specific information given by Italians was in the form of names or locations of particular programs. Other groups demonstrated less familiarity with child care services. Approximately half of the responses from Blacks, Irish, Greeks and Puerto Ricans were non-specific.

TABLE 80: Kinds of Specific Knowledge of Day Care Programs
(Among All Respondents)

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rico</u>
General	17%	22%	0%	14%	7%
General location	31	36	13	29	43
Place to ask	3	0	3	0	0
Specific name, location	43	42	81	57	50
Other	3	0	3	0	0
NA	3	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



C. Knowledge of Social Service Agencies

Respondents from each ethnic group were asked for their opinions of four Boston agencies: United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston (UCS); the municipal Little City Halls Program; Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD); and ABCD's eleven neighborhood service organizations, the Area Planning-Action Councils (APAC).

1. United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

United Community Services is a voluntary health and welfare planning agency financed by the Massachusetts Bay United Fund. It serves as an umbrella agency for over 200 non-profit organizations offering health, education, recreation, manpower and social services throughout the Boston Metropolitan Area. In addition, it provides direct services through an information and referral office and a Volunteer Bureau.

Only 19 per cent of the Puerto Rican respondents in the survey had heard of United Community Services. However, members of the other ethnic groups surveyed were more familiar with the agency. Almost three-quarters of the Irish had heard of it, as had more than half of the Greeks, Italians and Blacks.

TABLE 81: Familiarity with U.C.S.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	54%	73%	56%	60%	19%
No	46	27	41	40	81
NA	0	0	3	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

More than half of those in each group who had heard of the agency felt that U.C.S. programs accomplished a lot of good or at least some good in the community. Responses varied somewhat among the five groups, with the highest proportion of favorable answers occurring among the Irish. One-quarter of the Italians had negative opinions of U.C.S., the largest percentage of unfavorable responses. In all cases, a substantial portion of the ethnic group sampled did not rate the agency's services. Because so few Puerto Ricans had heard of United Community Services, results for this group cannot be compared with those of respondents from other ethnic backgrounds.

TABLE 82: U.C.S. Does Good

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Lot	26%	49%	22%	40%	-
Some	41	32	34	37	-
Little	7	0	14	3	-
None	7	4	10	3	-
NA, don't know enough	19	15	20	17	-
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> -

Most respondents based their favorable opinions of United Community Services on general impressions of the agency. More than half of each of the groups gave general answers or declined to comment on the organization, with Greek and Italian respondents most heavily represented in these two categories. The Irish based their opinions of U.C.S. on first-hand knowledge of programs more frequently than respondents from other groups, while the proportion of respondents who had heard favorable comments about a specific U.C.S. program was approximately the same for each ethnic group. Again, the Puerto Rican sample was too small for comparison with other groups.

TABLE 83: Positive Opinions on U.C.S.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Good personal experience	17%	31%	13%	4%	-
Heard good about it	13	10	13	12	-
General, non-specific	35	48	34	64	-
Other	5	1	0	0	-
NA, don't know enough	30	10	40	20	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	-

Among those who disapproved of U.C.S., more Greeks, Italians and Blacks than others were able to cite specific reasons for their negative views of the agency. However, few negative opinions were based on personal experience with programs. More than half of the respondents in each group gave general responses or didn't know enough about U.C.S. to explain their opinions. The sample for Puerto Ricans was again too small to compare their responses with those of other groups.

TABLE 84: Negative Opinions on U.C.S.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Bad personal experience	6%	2%	13%	0%	-
Inadequate service	11	0	6	14	-
Inappropriate goals	11	0	3	29	-
General	22	33	22	21	-
Other	11	29	9	0	-
NA, don't know enough	39	36	47	36	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	-

2. Little City Halls

Mayor Kevin White established the Little City Hall Program in 1968, fulfilling a campaign pledge to decentralize city government and provide more direct communication between City Hall and Boston residents. By 1969, Little City Halls had been established in fourteen neighborhoods, operating on a combined budget of \$750,000 and serving 600,000 people. These neighborhood programs function as complaint and information centers and range in size from multi-service operations closely tied with other municipal agencies to single offices with one staff member. All respondents lived in areas served by a Little City Hall.

While slightly more than half of the Greeks and Puerto Ricans interviewed had heard of the Little City Halls, a very large majority of respondents from other groups were also familiar with them. The Irish were the most knowledgeable group, with 90 per cent of the respondents familiar with the Little City Halls.

TABLE 85: Familiarity with Little City Halls

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	72%	89%	78%	52%	57%
No	28	11	20	48	40
NA	0	0	2	0	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Approximately half of the respondents from each group who had heard of the Little City Halls held favorable opinions of them. There were differences among the groups but these did not cover a wide range; the Irish were most in favor of the program, with 57 per cent holding the opinion that the Little City Halls accomplished some or a lot of good, while 55 per cent of the Italians also approved. Relatively few Greeks were strongly in favor of the program, although 38 per cent credited the program with accomplishing some good.

The largest body of unfavorable opinion was found among Greek and Irish respondents; indeed, the Irish seemed to feel most strongly about the program, and expressed little middle-of-the-road opinion. A substantial proportion of Puerto Ricans--26 per cent--also expressed lukewarm opinions. At the same time, a substantial proportion of Greek and Black respondents felt they didn't know enough to comment or gave no answer at all.

TABLE 86: Little City Halls Do Good

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Lot	22%	32%	29%	8%	26%
Some	28	25	26	38	19
Little	8	6	19	4	26
None	8	24	13	23	11
NA, don't know	34	13	13	27	18
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When asked to support their favorable opinion of the Little City Halls, many respondents gave general answers,* no reply, or felt they didn't know enough about the program to comment. This group included 70 per cent of the Puerto Ricans and half of the Blacks. Those who offered more specific comments commonly gave one of two reasons: convenient locations and the general effectiveness of the program in making available needed city services. The former reason was the one most frequently mentioned by all ethnic groups, with the exception of the Puerto Ricans, while Irish and Italian respondents also commented frequently on the effectiveness of the Little City Halls, citing sympathetic staff, the relative absence of red tape, and the ability of the neighborhood offices to take direct action in solving problems. Relatively few in each group cited a good personal experience with the program in giving their favorable opinion of it.

TABLE 87: Positive Opinions on Little City Halls

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Good personal experience	13%	13%	18%	5%	20%
Convenient location	25	21	25	25	0
Good staff	3	2	6	0	0
Solve problems	3	20	15	10	10
General	6	12	18	15	35
Other	3	19	0	15	0
NA, don't know	<u>47</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>35</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Such as, "I've heard people say good things about them" or, "everybody knows they help people."

A large percentage of Black, Greek and Puerto Rican respondents did not support their unfavorable opinions of the Little City Halls with specific reasons. Three-quarters of the Blacks and a large number of Puerto Ricans and Greeks gave no answer or felt they weren't familiar enough with the Little City Halls to explain their disapproval. In addition, one-fifth of both the Puerto Ricans and Greeks expressed their objections in non-specific terms.

In contrast, many Irish and Italian respondents mentioned specific reasons for their negative opinions of the Little City Halls. One-quarter of the Italians and 61 per cent of the Irish commented that the program was a political gimmick promoted by the Mayor's office or an unnecessary waste of money. Almost a third of the Italians felt that the neighborhood City Halls held no real power.

In comparison with those who approved of the Little City Halls, a smaller proportion of those who disapproved of them mentioned personal contact with the agencies as the basis for their disapproval of the program. Members of the Puerto Rican group were the only exception, with 37 per cent reporting bad personal experiences with the Little City Halls.

TABLE 88: Negative Opinions on Little City Halls

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Bad personal experience	5%	11%	10%	7%	37%
Insufficient staff, resources	5	0	0	0	0
A gimmick	5	61	25	13	0
No power	0	1	31	7	0
General	5	2	6	20	19
Other	5	11	0	13	0
NA, don't know	75	14	28	40	44
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

3. A.B.C.D.

Action for Boston Community Development, Inc., the city's anti-poverty agency, administered programs with a combined budget of approximately \$20 million in 1969. The central organization of A.B.C.D. supports programs under four divisions: Manpower; Head Start (a pre-school education program); Family and Community Services; and Economic Opportunities, which includes consumer education programs, cooperatives and other related services. The agency's downtown headquarters also channels programs, funds and technical assistance to the City's anti-poverty target neighborhoods. Neighborhood programs are, in most cases, conducted by the eleven Area Planning Action Councils, governed by boards of directors whose members are chosen in community elections.

A.B.C.D. was best-known among the Blacks in the survey; 80 per cent of the respondents from this group were familiar with it. A majority of Irish and Italians knew of the agency, but less than half of the Puerto Ricans and Greeks surveyed had heard of it.

TABLE 89: Familiarity with A.B.C.D.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	80%	67%	53%	40%	45%
No	20	33	46	60	55
NA	0	0	1	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

With the exception of the Irish, respondents in all groups who were aware of ABCD were quite favorable toward it. Most Irish respondents had no opinion of the agency and very few expressed disapproval. Ninety per cent of the Puerto Ricans who were familiar with ABCD approved of the agency and more than three-quarters of the Black sample thought the organization accomplished a lot or some good.

TABLE 90: A.B.C.D. Does Good

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Lot	40%	24%	17%	15%	62%
Some	38	19	43	45	28
Little	2	7	5	10	5
None	0	0	7	0	0
NA, don't know	20	50	28	30	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Most respondents who explained their approval of ABCD expressed favorable opinions of specific programs. A third of the Blacks and 38 per cent of the Puerto Ricans were among this group. With the exception of the Puerto Ricans, only a small number from each group mentioned a good personal experience as the reason for their favorable impression of ABCD and a substantial portion of each group indicated general reasons for their approval or gave no explanation for their opinions. Almost all of the responses from Greeks fell within these two categories as did most of the answers from Irish and Italian respondents.

TABLE 91: Positive Opinions on A.B.C.D.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Good personal experience	5%	11%	6%	0%	19%
Specific program	33	20	21	5	38
General	35	11	27	58	38
Other	5	0	0	0	0
NA, don't know	22	58	46	37	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Respondents who explained their negative opinions of the anti-poverty agency gave more reasons than those who approved of it. Among the few from each group who commented, Greeks and Italians disapproved of the orientation of ABCD's programs, in terms of problem-solving or target groups. Blacks thought the agency had assigned insufficient staff and resources to accomplish its objectives, while the Irish criticized ABCD as a "publicity gimmick". One-third of the Puerto Ricans who responded negatively based their opinions on a bad personal experience.

TABLE 92: Negative Opinions on A.B.C.D.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Bad personal experience	0%	0%	7%	0%	33%
Insufficient staff or resources	13	0	7	0	0
A gimmick	0	10	0	0	0
Doing wrong things	6	2	11	8	0
General	25	2	19	30	33
Other	6	20	0	8	0
NA, don't know	50	66	56	54	33
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 99%

4. APACs

ABCD sponsors eleven Area Planning-Action Councils under the Office of Economic Opportunity's Community Action Program. These semi-independent agencies implement many anti-poverty programs coordinated on a city-wide basis by ABCD, and in addition conduct information, referral, and community organization programs of their own. Policy for each APAC is set by a board of directors elected by and from the neighborhood it serves.

A majority of every group resided in an APAC target area. Almost three-quarters of the Black respondents lived in that part of Mattapan served by the Dorchester APAC, while nearly all Italian and Puerto Rican respondents lived in the APAC neighborhoods of East Boston and the North End in the former case and Roxbury-North Dorchester and the South End in the latter. The Irish sample, on the other hand, was selected from throughout the City, as was that of the Greek families interviewed. Many of the respondents therefore may be assumed to have had a reasonable chance of exposure to their APAC, either through its service programs or through the annual elections for APAC representatives, which are conducted with city-wide publicity.

TABLE 93: APAC Area Residence

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	74%	60%	97%	76%	100%
No	26	40	1	20	0
NA	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Only respondents who were predetermined to be living in an anti-poverty target neighborhood were queried about their familiarity with the APAC. Of these, the Irish and the Italians showed the greatest awareness, followed by Blacks, with 65 per cent, 51 per cent, and 43 per cent affirmative answers, respectively. Only 18 per cent of the Puerto Ricans and 10 per cent of the Greeks demonstrated a similar awareness.

TABLE 94: Familiarity with APAC

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	43%	65%	51%	10%	18%
No	57	35	49	90	82
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In no case had a majority of those who were familiar with the APAC in their neighborhood had direct personal contact with it. The proportion was largest among Blacks, 44 per cent of whom had had a personal contact, but among Italians, Greeks, and Puerto Ricans only one-quarter of the respondents who were aware of their APAC had been personally exposed to it. Contact was lowest of all among the Irish, among whom only 5 per cent had had such an experience.*

TABLE 95: Contact with APAC

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	44%	6%	28%	25%	25%
No	56	94	72	75	75
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Note the diminishing effect of using successively smaller populations in analyzing the returns of this series of questions. For example, 60 per cent of all Irish respondents lived in an APAC neighborhood. Of this group, 65 per cent demonstrated familiarity with their APAC, and of this group, 6 per cent had actually had some contact with it. Thus, only 2 per cent of all the Irish in the entire sample--and inferentially, in the entire City--had had contact with an APAC.



Very few respondents had voted in an APAC election. Thirteen per cent of the Italians and 4 per cent of the Irish had voted, but not a single respondent among the Blacks, Greeks, or Puerto Ricans had done so.

TABLE 96: Voted in APAC Election

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Yes	0%	4%	13%	0%	0%
No	100	96	87	100	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Three-quarters of the Blacks who had heard of the APACs approved of them, as did three-fifths of the Puerto Ricans and Irish, and 45 per cent of the Italians. However, more Italians expressed total dissatisfaction with the APAC than other groups.

Blacks were more willing than members of the other groups to express opinions about the APACs. However, members of this group had had more personal experience with the agencies, as shown in Table 26. In contrast, 42 per cent of both the Irish and Italian respondents gave no answer or felt they had insufficient knowledge of the program to comment on it.

TABLE 97: APACs Do Good

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Lot	31%	17%	26%	-	29%
Some	44	41	19	-	29
Little	13	0	0	-	14
None	6	0	13	-	0
NA, don't know	6	42	42	-	28
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	-	100%

Most respondents either expressed no opinion or gave general reasons for their approval of the APACs. Blacks and Italians were most able to give specific reasons; these were primarily based on favorable impressions of particular programs, although some respondents mentioned personal experience with APAC services. In addition, a small portion of the Irish and Puerto Rican sample spoke favorably of specific programs sponsored by APACs. Unfortunately, there were too few Greeks answering the question to compare their responses with those of other groups.

TABLE 98: Positive Opinions on APACs

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Good personal experience	13%	1%	10%	-	0%
Specific program	20	16	26	-	14
General	20	34	16	-	43
NA, don't know	47	49	48	-	43
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	-	100%

A sizeable majority of the respondents gave no reasons for their objections to the APACs, and of those who answered, most were non-specific. In comparison with other groups, more Italian respondents cited more specific reasons for their disapproval of ABCD's community agencies. Again, the Puerto Rican and Greek responses to this question were too small to consider.

TABLE 99: Negative Opinions on APAC

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Bad personal experience	9%	0%	12%	-	-
Insufficient staff or resources	0	3	8	-	-
A gimmick	0	0	8	-	-
General	18	23	12	-	-
Other	9	0	0	-	-
NA, don't know	64	74	60	-	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	-	-

PART TWO:

GROUP SUMMARIES

V. BLACKS

The Black families sampled by the Omnibus Survey lived exclusively in the Mattapan section of Boston, a neighborhood that has been in the process of rapid change since the late 1960s. Blacks who moved into this white and predominantly Jewish neighborhood were assumed to be upwardly mobile families seeking better living conditions out of the ghetto. The sample was designed to test this hypothesis and measure the needs of these families for social welfare and anti-poverty services.

A. General Characteristics

Although the Black families sampled were not without problems, the hypothesis outlined above seemed to be supported by the returns. Black families in Mattapan were, compared to the City average, younger and more likely to be headed by a male. The median age of household heads was thirty-two, and more than three-quarters of the families were headed by a person forty-four or younger, compared to 44 per cent for the City as a whole. In 66 per cent, the head was male, in contrast to the overall City average for Black households of 56 per cent. However, the rate of intact marriages was somewhat lower among Black families than among all families in the City; 28 per cent of the household heads were divorced or separated.

Black family heads in Mattapan were also better educated (up to a point) than family heads in the City as a whole, but tended



to work in lower status occupations. Although none were found to have graduated from college, 34 per cent were high school graduates, more than in the City as a whole and more than among other groups in the study. Similarly, only 8 per cent of all heads were in professional or managerial occupations, while 46 per cent were in blue-collar occupations. Eighty-four per cent were in the labor force, a relatively high proportion.

Black families had median incomes of \$7,500, appreciably higher than the City median of \$6,800. Although none had incomes below \$3,000 per year and 24 per cent had incomes of less than \$6,000, one-third had incomes of more than \$9,000 and 12 per cent earned more than \$15,000. Eighty-five per cent--a large proportion compared to the other groups studied--depended on wages as their major source of income, although 20 per cent gained some income from welfare, including AFDC.

Only Black families, of all the groups studied, were buying homes in Boston in any number. While three-quarters were renting their present quarters, 20 per cent were buying their own home and 4 per cent were already owners. At \$275, median housing costs for owners and buyers were higher than for any other group, as were median costs for renters, at \$145. Thirty-four per cent were spending more than 30 per cent of their income for housing, a fairly high proportion compared to the other groups surveyed, but the median proportion of income devoted to housing for all families was 27 per cent, not far from the accepted norm of 25 per cent.

Seventy per cent of the Black households had incurred financial obligations requiring time payments, far more than any other group. One-quarter were paying for automobiles--a probable necessity for residents of a neighborhood without adequate public transportation--and another quarter were making installment payments on charge accounts, credit cards, or appliances. Nearly one-fifth were obliged to pay off personal loans. In the median family, 42 per cent of income was left after the fixed costs of housing, food, and time payments were met. About one-third indicated that it was difficult to make ends meet financially.

Although Black households in Mattapan were larger than the City average, 40 per cent included no minor children. However, one-fifth of the households included three or more children, and in one-quarter, the head lived with his or her children in the absence of the spouse. Not only was the rate of disrupted marriages higher among Blacks than among any of the other groups in the study, so also was the rate of single-parent families. Black households were exceeded in the number of children present only by Puerto Rican families. There were no extended (three generation) households, and in virtually none were there any persons sixty-five or over.

Unlike the other groups studied, there appeared to be little relationship between country of background, religion, and religious intermarriage. Most Black respondents were Protestant, although 10 per cent were Roman Catholic, and, although there had been a high rate of

religious intermarriage, these marriages were largely between different Protestant sects. Only 2 per cent of the respondents were born in a foreign country, and only 2 per cent were children of a foreign-born parent.

The image of Blacks in Mattapan as recent migrants from other Boston neighborhoods is largely correct. Nearly half had settled there within the previous two years (1968 - 1970), and three-quarters within the previous four (since 1966). However, 10 per cent had lived there at least ten years. Furthermore, although the majority seem to have moved to Mattapan from elsewhere in Boston, 34 per cent had lived in the City for less than four years.

Although 18 per cent of the Black respondents were born in Boston and half had lived in the City for ten years or more, nearly half had arrived in the last ten years, indicating that many were likely to have arrived as children or young adults. Half of all respondents were born in the South Atlantic states of Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, and 18 per cent in the South Central states of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas. Surprisingly, none were born on farms or in rural areas, but 28 per cent were born in small towns of 10,000 or less. Only 10 per cent were born in a metropolitan area of 650,000 or more (excluding those born in Boston).

TABLE 100: Birthplace of Black Respondents

<u>Region</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Middle Atlantic (New Jersey, Pennsylvania)	6%
North Central (Ohio)	2
South Atlantic (Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia)	52
East South Central (Alabama, Tennessee)	10
West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas)	8
New England (Boston only)	18
Latin America	2
NA	2
	<hr/> 100%

B. Attitudes and Practices

Racial pride and self-consciousness were fairly high among the respondents, although many had negative feelings about their group. When asked how they, as a group, differed from other groups, one-third of the Black respondents cited physical attributes, and one-fifth felt that they couldn't generalize. When asked to name the best things about their group, one-fifth cited the strength of group ties and one-quarter cited a propensity for hard work. Almost one-fifth of the Blacks found riots and criminal behavior embarrassing, and another fifth cited negative personality traits. Although one-quarter said that nothing embarrassed them about Blacks in general, this was the lowest proportion



among the five groups. One-quarter did not name anyone of whom they were particularly proud, but almost half named three or more persons. Those named tended to be entertainers or persons active in civil rights.

Blacks were the most tolerant of religious or racial inter-marriage of any group surveyed; almost four-fifths said they would not be upset if a child of theirs married a person of another religion or race. Blacks were also more desirous of an even mixture in the schools than any other group; 60 per cent said that the optimum degree of integration would be half-and-half, black and white. Almost none desired all-black schools, while 10 per cent said it didn't matter. More than 10 per cent said that integration was desirable because black children get better education in predominantly white schools, while more than half felt that children should learn to get along with all kinds. Twelve per cent said that good schools were more important than ethnic composition. Eighty per cent said that Black children should learn Black history in the schools.

C. Employment Characteristics, Job
Histories, and Training

The majority of the Black household heads were working full-time, and often longer, in blue-collar occupations. Of those in the labor force, 31 per cent were in white-collar jobs, but 40 per cent were operatives, service workers, or laborers. The unemployment rate was 7 per cent, which was relatively low for the groups sampled. Only a few were self-employed, but one-third were union members. Three-quarters

worked full-time, while 16 per cent worked forty-five or more hours a week. Among the few who were not working full-time, lack of skills, family responsibilities, and poor health were given equally frequently as reasons for lack of such employment.

Half of the Black household heads who were employed had held their current jobs for less than five years. Forty-six per cent had held two other jobs within the last five years, but this seemingly high rate of turnover was not excessive in comparison to that of the other groups surveyed. Poor pay and the type of work were equally important factors in the most recent change of jobs. Few were looking for a new job and the majority seemed to feel relatively secure in their present employment. About one-fifth, however, did express the feeling that they would be the first to go in the event of lay-offs at their places of work.

Reflecting their seemingly greater rate of contact with government and social agencies, Blacks relied to a far greater extent than other groups on agency placements in jobs. However, only 14 per cent had found their current job through this method, while the great majority had become employed through informal means or haphazard contacts.

Thirty-six per cent of all employed Black heads indicated that they had had some type of job training in the past. Among those who were not working, however, the percentage who had undergone some type of training was higher, indicating that training was not a decisive factor in obtaining employment. Among currently employed Blacks,

training had usually been taken in vocational schools, employers' training programs, or other unspecified programs.

One-third of the Black households included a second wage-earner, most often the spouse, but occasionally a child of the household head. In the majority of multi-person households, the wife was working, usually for the sake of the added income. However, many respondents indicated that the fact that she enjoyed working was the main reason. In about a third of the households in which wives were working, indications were given that the added income derived from her employment was important to the financial well-being of the family. Among those families in which the wife was not working, over half indicated that it would help in some degree if she did. However, all agreed that the primary reason for her not doing so was that she was needed at home.

D. Awareness of Social Services

Black respondents had by far the most extensive knowledge of job training opportunities in Boston. Nine-tenths had heard of programs teaching job skills and 84 per cent, a much higher proportion than among other groups, knew where to find these programs. Most named ABCD as a source for services, and could identify programs by their location or sponsoring organization.

Most Blacks were in a middle-income bracket and were probably not in need of the kind of job training programs generally offered to the poor. However, Black respondents demonstrated a much greater awareness

of these services than other groups with lower incomes and higher rates of unemployment. This may suggest that Blacks, perhaps because racial discrimination closed more traditional employment opportunities to them, have relied on social service programs as a means of attaining middle-class status, and that they have retained their familiarity with these programs and continue to use them when necessary.

Black respondents were also more knowledgeable about child care than any others. Nine-tenths of the sample had heard of services in this field, while 56 per cent were able to name specific programs, 20 per cent fewer than the proportion with specific information about job training courses. This lower level of awareness may have occurred because only one-third of the Black respondents had children of an age to be served by a day care program. Although many named programs or gave the specific location of child care centers, a substantial portion referred only to the general neighborhood these programs serve. Most mentioned services sponsored by voluntary associated agencies, although some cited Head Start classes or privately operated programs.

In addition to being most familiar with child care programs, Black respondents were very willing to take advantage of these services. Among those with young children, 65 per cent indicated that they would use child care programs, primarily so as to be able to supplement family income. However, many mentioned that wives would take training courses if their children were enrolled in day care centers.

In general, Blacks demonstrated a high degree of awareness of the four service organizations listed in the survey. ABCD was rated

highest in general effectiveness, followed by the Little City Hall program, United Community Services, and the Dorchester APAC.

Eighty per cent of the Black respondents were familiar with ABCD, more than any other ethnic group, and more than three-quarters of these approved of the agency's services. Most of those surveyed gave general reasons for their opinions or did not comment further on their attitudes toward the anti-poverty program. Very few negative respondents commented on their opinions, while one-third of those in favor of the anti-poverty agency mentioned specific programs sponsored by it.

Almost three-quarters of the Black sample had heard of the Little City Halls and more than half of these approved of the program. To a greater extent than most other groups, their opinions of the neighborhood agencies were based on general impressions. Slightly more than half had heard of United Community Services and 67 per cent of these approved of the agency. While most based their approval of UCS on general impressions, more cited specific reasons for negative opinions of the organization than other groups. Finally, although almost three-quarters lived in the area served by the Dorchester APAC, less than half were familiar with it. However, Black respondents approved of APAC services to a greater extent than other groups and had more personal contact with them.

VI. IRISH

The Irish households included in the Omnibus Survey were selected at random from a City-wide sample, and thus represented all Irish households in Boston. Long known as Boston's largest and most vital ethnic minority, the Irish were considered to have declined in importance as the suburban exodus of the post-war period drained off the younger and more able members of the community. Those who remained were felt to be the aging remnants of the first minority group to join the American mainstream.

A. General Characteristics

Irish households were, in fact, older, more likely to be headed by a widow or a retired person, more likely to have an income below the City median, and more likely to depend on Social Security or a pension than other groups in the study or, as far as can be determined, than other households in the rest of the City. The median age of household heads was sixty, the oldest of any group studied. Fifty-six per cent were married, but 21 per cent were widowed, almost twice the City rate. Almost none were divorced, but 16 per cent were separated, compared to a City rate of 7 per cent for both categories together.

While more Irish household heads had gone on to obtain a higher education than any others, more than half--56 per cent--had not graduated from high school. Six per cent, however, had gone on to obtain

at least some education beyond college, while 16 per cent had had at least some college training. With this relatively high level of education, many heads were working in managerial and professional occupations, although 26 per cent were retired.

Irish households were very small, perhaps reflecting the high rate of widowhood. More than one-third contained only one person, and more than one-third contained more than one person over sixty-five years old. Nearly three-quarters contained no minor children, although two-fifths were comprised of the head, the spouse, and one or more children.

The median income of Irish households in Boston was only \$5,000, far below the City median of \$6,800. One-quarter had incomes of less than \$3,000 per year, and nearly half less than \$6,000. Only slightly more than half said that wages were their major source of income, while 30 per cent relied on Social Security or a pension. Fifty-nine per cent had at least some income from these sources, while one-quarter gained some support from welfare, including AFDC.

Very few Irish families owned their own homes, and almost none were currently buying their present quarters. The median housing costs for the 71 per cent who were renting was only \$109, while for all households, the median proportion of income devoted to housing was 23 per cent. Nevertheless, 36 per cent were spending more than 30 per cent of their incomes for housing, although an equal proportion were spending less than 20 per cent.

Many households appeared to be living on the brink of financial instability. With such low housing costs, food was a proportionately higher share of total family income than for other groups, and although few Irish families had incurred time payment obligations, only 38 per cent of income remained after their fixed costs had been taken care of. Ten per cent were paying off personal loans, a relatively high proportion, and more than half indicated that it was difficult to make ends meet.

About nine out of ten Irish interviewed were Catholic, and many seemed very close to their ethnic background. Of those who were married, the great majority had a spouse of the same religion. In three out of five marriages, both partners were Irish. One-fifth were born abroad, as were one or both of the parents of two-thirds of the native-born respondents. None had migrated to Boston within the last fifteen years. Four-fifths had lived in the City for twenty-five years or more, and 56 per cent had lived in their present neighborhood for the same length of time.

B. Attitudes and Practices

Most Irish were not especially self-conscious about their ethnic background, although some were defensive about what they felt to be negative characteristics of their group. One-fifth felt that Irish-Americans were just like everyone else, and the only distinguishing characteristics mentioned with any frequency were personality traits. When asked to name the best attributes of their group, 31 per

cent mentioned personality again, although 11 per cent still refused to recognize any differences and 16 per cent replied that they found nothing good about the Irish at all. Conversely, 41 per cent said that nothing was bad about the Irish, either, although 43 per cent also mentioned personality as a negative trait. On the one hand, the Irish saw themselves as friendly, generous, fun-loving, tough, scrappy, and gregarious; on the other, loud, bad-tempered, too proud, and heavy drinkers. No other group laid such heavy stress on the extremes of personality.

The Irish were prepared to be quite liberal about religious and ethnic intermarriage, and more liberal than Italians and Greeks about racial intermarriage. More than 90 per cent said they would not be upset if a child of theirs married someone of another ethnic group, and only 5 per cent said they would be "very upset" at the prospect of a religious intermarriage. One-third said they would be very upset at the prospect of a racial intermarriage, but a nearly equal proportion said that they would not be upset at all. Similarly, almost none wanted to see their group dominate the schools, and most felt that the optimum mixture would be less than half Irish, on the basis that children should learn to get along with all kinds.*

*Note that this question did not refer to racial integration of the schools, but to the optimum representation of the respondent's own ethnic group.

The Irish were not avid followers of traditional practices. About 60 per cent said that "America would be a better place to live if everyone kept the customs and traditions of their own group and respected those of other people", but only 23 per cent said that they had ever made a conscious effort to observe traditional practices in their homes for the benefit of their children. Similarly, one-third said it was not important for children to learn the history of their own group, although an equal proportion held the opposite view. More than half, however, said that it was very important for Black children to learn Black history and culture in the schools. Finally, almost three-quarters felt that Irish-Americans should go to the aid of Ireland if their country were in trouble.

C. Employment Characteristics, Job Histories, and Training

The Irish had fewer workers in blue-collar occupations and a higher proportion of managers and professionals than any other group. However, 36 per cent of the Irish heads were not in the labor force. Twenty-six per cent were retired, while the unemployment rate among those who were in the labor force and actively looking for work was 16 per cent. There was a fairly high proportion of self-employed heads of households, with these accounting for a fifth of all working heads. Most of the Irish who were employed worked full-time, with a substantial number working more than forty hours a week. Part-time workers accounted for about 10 per cent of all employed heads, but

almost all of these were retired persons. Over half of all employed heads belonged to unions, a proportion which is high relative to the other groups in the survey.

Job turnover among the Irish was very low, except among a minority. Three-quarters had had their current job for five years or more, yet almost half of the remainder had had three jobs in the previous five years. By far the most important factor in the most recent job change was the type of work an Irish respondent had been doing or was offered. Few were looking for other jobs, but a substantial 32 per cent felt that they would be laid off first should layoffs occur. Neither public nor private job referral agencies played a very important role in helping the Irish to find their jobs, most of which they had found through informal means.

About the same proportion of non-working as employed household heads had received some type of training in the past. Here, again, it seems that training was not a decisive factor in obtaining employment, although it may be that the substantial number of retired household heads among the Irish affects the data. The training of employed heads was received for the most part in union or OEO-funded programs. In fact, the Irish were the only group which had participated heavily in federally funded manpower programs.

Among Irish multi-person households in which someone was working, the employed person was most often the head. Less than a fifth of the respondents indicated that two or more persons were working

in their households, and in only 11 per cent was the wife working. In nearly half of the households with working wives, it was indicated that there would be financial difficulties if the wife didn't work, but in half of those in which the wife was not working it was said that the household would be more secure if she did. However, two out of five non-working wives could not work because of health or age, while an equal number were needed at home.

D. Awareness of Social Services

Fifty-eight per cent of the Irish had heard of job training opportunities, and a substantial number knew of particular programs offering skill training courses. Most mentioned three sources for job training: 35 per cent named regular school courses, one-quarter ABCD, and a similar portion referred to state-operated programs. Of those who knew where to obtain training services, half named programs by their location but one-fourth, more than any other group, mentioned the sponsoring agency.

The fact that relatively few Irish had actually enrolled in job training programs may be due to their long residence in the City. Like the Italians, the Irish are a well-established group, and their ready access to certain kinds of employment may make them less apt to participate in skill training programs. At the same time, their long residence in Boston may account for their greater knowledge of job training opportunities compared to that of Greeks and Puerto Ricans,

who have arrived in the City much more recently. In addition, a substantial portion of the Irish sample was comprised of two groups unlikely to participate in job training services, pensioners and families with incomes over \$10,000 a year.

Irish were more familiar with child care programs than Puerto Ricans or Greeks, but knew less about this type of social service than Blacks or Italians. Among Irish respondents, 69 per cent were aware of the opportunities for child care services, a higher proportion than that for job training courses, and 45 per cent knew of specific programs. Most named voluntary agencies or Head Start classes; half identified programs by giving general information about them instead of naming agencies, particular programs, or their specific location. Few, however, had children who would be eligible for day care. These respondents, less than one-fifth of the entire sample, were far less favorable toward such programs than members of the other groups; only one-third said they would be willing to enroll their children in one. In addition, 83 per cent of those who would use child care services said their wives would remain at home and not work.

The Irish generally showed a greater degree of awareness of the agencies mentioned than any other group. UCS rated highest in general effectiveness, followed by the APACs, the Little City Hall program, and ABCD. More Irish respondents were familiar with UCS and more approved of the agency than any of the other groups. Almost three-quarters had heard of the organization and 81 per cent thought

it accomplished a lot or some good. Although a third of the Irish sample derived their opinions of UCS from personal experience with its programs, few respondents from this group gave specific reasons for their views, especially those who disapproved of it.

Sixty per cent of the Irish lived in an APAC target area, and 65 per cent of these were familiar with APAC programs, more than any other group, but only a few had actually had any contact with one. Nearly 60 per cent thought they were effective, but most did not explain their reasons for their views. In comparison, almost 90 per cent of the Irish had heard of the Mayor's neighborhood centers and 57 per cent approved of them, in both cases a larger percentage of respondents than among other groups. A substantial number gave specific reasons for their opinions of the program, although fewer persons of Irish background based their opinions on actual contact with Little City Halls than did Italians or Puerto Ricans. Of those who disapproved of the Little City Halls, 61 per cent thought they were a "publicity gimmick".

Finally, more Irish had heard of ABCD than any other group, with the exception of Blacks. Sixty-seven per cent were familiar with the agency, but only 43 per cent of these approved of its programs. A substantial majority of those who expressed opinions of ABCD did not give a reason or answered on the basis of general impressions of the organization.

VII. ITALIANS

The Italian households included in this study were drawn at random from households in Charlestown, East Boston, and the North End. As would be expected, almost all lived in the latter two areas. It was expected that this group would be, like the Irish, a remnant of a once young and vigorous immigrant community, and that those surveyed would turn out to be relatively old and poorly educated, and with a high incidence of social problems. These assumptions were proved only in part.

A. General Characteristics

Although an older group, the Italians were not as old as the Irish, nor did they have as high a proportion of widows and retired persons. The median age of household heads was fifty-three; 22 per cent were sixty-five or over and 45 per cent were between forty-five and sixty-four. Only 5 per cent were in the eighteen to twenty-four bracket, more than among the Irish, but only half the City-wide proportion. Seventy-eight per cent were male and 70 per cent were married, more than in the City as a whole. Only 7 per cent of the heads were divorced or separated. Twenty-two per cent were retired.

Italians were among the least well educated and most highly concentrated in low-income occupations. None were found to have graduated from college, while 75 per cent had not finished high school, compared to 38 per cent in the City as a whole. Of those in the labor

force, only 18 per cent were in white-collar occupations; 18 per cent were craftsmen, and 56 per cent were operatives, service workers, or laborers.

Italian households were not large, although half included one or more children, and the mean number of children in such households was 2.2. Only 18 per cent were composed of a single person living alone, and less than one-quarter included any persons over sixty-five years old.

The median income of Italian families was \$7,000, slightly more than the City-wide level. Few families were at the extremes, financially speaking; 8 per cent had incomes of less than \$3,000, fewer than in the rest of the City, but only 6 per cent earned more than \$15,000. About three-quarters depended on wages as the major source of income, and only 6 per cent depended on welfare, including AFDC. However, 13 per cent received at least some support from these forms of public assistance, while 20 per cent gained an income from Social Security and 27 per cent from rents.

The rate of home ownership among the Italians was lower than had been expected. One-quarter owned their current residences, and 5 per cent were buying their home at the time of the survey. Housing costs were quite low--\$100 per month for renters and \$128 for owners and buyers--and as a consequence the median proportion of income devoted to rent was only 21 per cent. Only one-fifth were spending more than 30 per cent of their income for housing, less than any other group.

Two-fifths of the families interviewed had incurred time payment obligations, but these accounted for only 6 per cent of their income. Food consumed only 20 per cent of income in the median family, and as a consequence 47 per cent of income remained after these basic obligations had been met. Only 13 per cent of the respondents said that it was "very difficult" to make ends meet.

The Italians were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and seemed quite close to their ethnic background. Over 90 per cent had married other Catholics, and only 30 per cent had married non-Italians. Forty-four per cent were foreign-born, while one or both of the parents of 82 per cent were also born abroad. Fifteen per cent had been in the United States and in Boston less than fifteen years, although more than half had lived in their present neighborhood for more than twenty-five years.

B. Attitudes and Practices

Italians were quite proud of their group, and few were embarrassed about specific ethnic traits. However, they were similar to the Irish in that many did not respond specifically to the question about how Italians differ from other groups. Fourteen per cent said that Italians were just like everyone else, while those who did respond to the question tended to cite family ties and positive personality traits. When asked to name the best things about their group, more than a quarter again cited positive personality traits, and many discussed family ties and group solidarity, while one-tenth said that

nothing was good about Italians. Almost half said that there was nothing that embarrassed them about Italians in general, but almost one-fifth cited negative personality traits. Although about 65 per cent said they felt proud when an Italian achieved success, the same percentage of respondents could not name a person of whom they were proud; those who were named were actors and entertainers.

Italians were far more concerned about racial intermarriage than about the possibility that one of their children might marry someone of another religion or ethnic group. More than three-quarters said they would not be upset at the prospect of a religious intermarriage, and over 90 per cent would not be upset if their child did not marry an Italian. However, two-thirds said they would be very upset at a racial intermarriage. Almost none wished to see Italians in a majority in the schools, and 20 per cent said that the mixture did not matter.

About half of the Italians agreed that the United States would be a better place if members of ethnic groups maintained their traditions, and 46 per cent said that they followed Italian customs in the home for the benefit of their children. About the same proportion said that they felt this to be very important, and as many felt just as strongly about the importance of Black children learning their history in the schools.

C. Employment Characteristics, Job
Histories, and Training

Although the Italians were concentrated in blue-collar trades, only 4 per cent of those in the labor force and actively looking for work were unemployed. Very few were self-employed, but 56 per cent--more than any other group--were union members. Almost none were working part-time, and a quarter were working more than forty-five hours a week.

Job turnover among the Italians was fairly high. Forty per cent had had their current job for less than five years, and a quarter of these had been changing jobs on an average of about once a year. Pay, job security, and working conditions were the most frequently cited reasons for changing. The high rate of turnover notwithstanding, only a slight proportion of employed heads were looking for a new job, though 17 per cent felt that they would be the first to be laid off should a cutback occur at their place of work. Most had found their current jobs through personal contacts, help wanted signs, or some other informal means. As with the Irish, contact with placement agencies of any sort was slight.

The Italians were the only group in which more employed heads had undergone some type of training than had those who were not working. Among employed Italians, vocational or professional schools and union or employers' programs accounted for most of the training of those who had had it.

Slightly more than a fifth of all Italian households included two employed persons. Others had three or even four employed persons in the same household. In most cases, the second employed person was the spouse of the head, although children were also working in some households. In more than a third of all households in which the spouse was a wife, she was working, most frequently for the added income. Most families indicated that financial problems would not result if the wife stopped working. However, although over a fifth indicated that they would. The usual reason for a wife's non-working status was that she was needed at home, although health and age also played a part.

D. Awareness of Social Services

On the whole, Italians were only moderately familiar with social service programs and agencies. Although they were more familiar with job training opportunities than all groups except the Blacks, few could name specific programs offering these services. Less than half named courses in skill training, although 70 per cent knew that such programs existed. Of those who had specific information, most mentioned vocational schools, regular school courses, or ABCD. Like other groups, many were able to identify programs by their location or sponsoring organization.

Respondents of Italian background may be less knowledgeable about job training programs than others because this ethnic group has been in Boston long enough to obtain access to certain fields without

the help of service agencies. In addition, the high rate of union membership also implies a high rate of access to on-the-job training, which may not be viewed as a formal learning experience.

Similarly, many Italians were familiar with child care services, but few knew where to obtain them; only 41 per cent could name specific programs. However, Italians who identified particular child care programs had more concrete information about them than respondents from other groups, with 81 per cent citing either the name or location of program sponsoring this type of service. More Italians referred to Head Start as a source for day care services than those in the other ethnic groups surveyed, although a sizeable number mentioned programs sponsored by voluntary agencies.

Like Black respondents, most Italians with young children would enroll them at a day care center or were already taking advantage of such a program. Thirty-six per cent had children between three and twelve years and, of these, 64 per cent said they would use child care services, primarily to add to the family income.

Generally, about half of the Italians had heard of the agencies mentioned, and, without many strong feeling one way or the other, about the same proportion felt that they were effective in their work. More than three-quarters were familiar with the Little City Halls, however, and of these, 55 per cent approved of the program. Fifty-six per cent were familiar with United Community Services and 45 per cent had favorable opinions of it. One-quarter of those who

had heard of UCS thought it accomplished little good or none at all, a larger proportion of negative opinions than for other groups. Most cited general reasons, with personal experience mentioned most often by those who commented more fully.

Similarly, 53 per cent had heard of ABCD and 60 per cent of these approved of its work. A large majority had no specific reasons for their opinions, while those who held negative opinions of the organization mentioned specific reasons more often than any other group. All lived in a target area; half had heard of the APAC in their area; and more than one-quarter had received service. Many had no opinion about the APACs, but those who did were generally favorable, and gave specific reasons more frequently than members of other groups. Persons of Italian background also had participated in APAC elections to a greater extent than members of any other group.

VIII. GREEKS

The Greek sample in the Omnibus survey was drawn from the entire City, but because of the small number interviewed the results are not considered to provide firm estimates of population characteristics. They do, however, provide many valuable perspectives of one of the least-known minorities in the City. The Greeks sampled appeared to be a vigorous, upwardly mobile, recently arrived group, with high incomes and a high standard of living. Not especially well educated, many heads were in the service trades or were self-employed. Overall, they were the most ethnocentric of the groups studied, and the least aware or in need of social agencies.

A. General Characteristics

Greek family heads were most often in younger middle age; over half were between thirty-five and fifty-four, and the median age was forty-five. Almost all--94 per cent--were male, and the great majority were married. Only 4 per cent were divorced or separated, the lowest rate of any group in the study. Ten per cent had graduated from college or gone beyond, but half had failed to graduate from high school. Sixty-nine per cent of those in the labor force were blue-collar workers, more than any other group, but more than one-third overall were in the service trades--presumably working in restaurants.

Greek households were large and some comprised an extended family. More than half included four or more persons, and the average

size was 3.8. However, a third included no children, and the average number of children in families which had them was low, only 2.2. Twenty per cent included at least one person sixty-five or over, and 6 per cent encompassed all three generations in extended families, the only group to do so. Over half the households were composed of a head living with a spouse and their children, and more Greeks than any others were living in this "normal" family situation.

Financially, Greek families were extremely stable and well off. More than one-fifth had incomes of over \$15,000 a year, while the median was \$10,900. Only 4 per cent had incomes of less than \$3,000, and 12 per cent between \$3,000 and \$6,000. Four-fifths were depending on wages as their major source of income, and none were relying entirely on welfare, AFDC, Social Security, or any other source except rents. Only 4 per cent received any support from welfare at all, while 14 per cent received some income from Social Security and one-third from rents.

Greeks also had the highest rate of home ownership. Forty per cent owned their own homes, while another 2 per cent were buying at the time of the survey. Housing costs were high, but not as high as for Blacks: \$200 a month for owners and buyers, and \$158 for renters. One-third were paying less than 20 per cent of their income for rent, while the median was 21 per cent. Food accounted for about one-fifth of family income and time payments about 7 per cent among the 38 per cent of households who had incurred them. Only 12 per cent said that it was "very difficult" to make ends meet.

Greek respondents were overwhelmingly of the Orthodox religion. Ninety per cent of those who were married had an Orthodox spouse, and four-fifths had married another Greek. Two-thirds were foreign-born, more than any other group except Puerto Ricans, while one or both of the parents of four-fifths of those who had been born in the United States had been born abroad.

Relatively few Greeks had been born in large cities. Only 16 per cent had been born in Boston, while 12 per cent had been born in other cities of 650,000 or more. Nearly half had been in this country for less than fifteen years, and 16 per cent for two years or less, and they were clearly the most recent immigrant group. A comparison of the length of time spent in this country with the length of time in Boston indicates that most came directly here from Greece, but there is a much lower degree of residential stability within the City; Greeks have not stayed in the neighborhoods where they first settled on arrival, as Italians appear to have done.

B. Attitudes and Practices

Greeks clearly had very strong ties to their ethnic heritage, and were emphatic in stressing the positive things about their group. Only one-fifth did not name specific characteristics which made their group different from others, and only 8 per cent said that Greeks were just like everyone else. Almost one-third cited their traditions as making them different from other groups. Many pointed to a propensity

for hard work, and many also cited family life. When asked the best things about Greeks as a group, one-quarter cited positive personality traits, almost one-fifth cited hard work, and many others talked about traditions, group identity, and family life. Almost none said that there was nothing good about Greeks, while three-quarters said that there was nothing about Greeks that embarrassed them. Four-fifths of the Greeks said that they were proud when a Greek achieved success, and almost all were able to name at least one person. Half of the respondents named the Vice President, while many named prominent Boston businessmen and restaurant owners.

Greeks were the most exclusive of the groups surveyed in that they were the most upset at the prospect of any sort of inter-marriage. Two-fifths said that they would be "very upset" at the prospect of a child of theirs marrying someone of another religion, and one-quarter would be similarly affected by a marriage to a person of another ethnic group. Seventy per cent, more than any other group, said that they would also be very upset if their child married someone who was not white. Furthermore, almost half felt that school classes should be at least half Greek, and one-fifth felt that children should grow up with their own kind. While these strong feelings were almost unique to the Greeks, many also said that children should learn to get along with all kinds and that majority representation was not necessarily desirable.

The great preponderance of those interviewed agreed that Greeks should maintain their traditions, and 60 per cent were observing traditional customs in their homes for the benefit of their children. In this respect, Greeks also had a richer cultural life than other groups; almost half said they observed five or more customs, such as holidays, music and dance, serving Greek food, and speaking Greek in the home. Three-quarters felt it to be important that children learn about the history of their group, and 66 per cent attached the same importance to teaching Black children their own history.

C. Employment Characteristics, Job
Histories, and Training

As already noted, the Greeks were concentrated in blue-collar occupations, specifically in the service trades, most probably in restaurants. The unemployment rate was zero; no individuals in the labor force were looking for work at the time of the survey, and only 10 per cent of the heads reported that they were not working, for whatever reason. More than one-fifth were self-employed, and nearly half of the employed heads were working more than forty-five hours a week. Only 21 per cent belonged to a union, the smallest proportion of any group.

Over half of the Greeks had had their current job for less than five years, and 80 per cent had held two or more jobs within that period. This rate of turnover does not compare unfavorably with that of other groups; moreover, one-quarter of those who had left a job in

the last five years said that they had moved from the area in which they were employed while 18 per cent had moved on to a better job. Most felt they were secure in their present job; only 10 per cent felt they would be laid off first, and only 9 per cent were looking for another position.

Like the Blacks, the Greeks displayed a great disparity in the proportion of trained household heads in their working and non-working population. The percentage of those with training among non-working persons was more than twice that among employed persons. Most employed Greeks received their training in vocational schools or from employer-sponsored programs. As with some other groups, however, a substantial proportion of employed Greeks who had had some type of training did not indicate what type it was.

More frequently than not, Greek households included at least two working persons, while some counted four or five. Wives were working in about half of the households in which the head was married. The added income was the most frequent reason for the wife's working status, but the fact that she enjoyed it was cited in a sizeable number of instances. About a third of those Greek households in which wives were working indicated that financial problems would result if the wife did not. In most households where the wife was not working, responses indicated that it would held if she did, and many indicated that this help would be substantial. The most frequent reason for the wife's non-working status was that she was needed at home, though health and lack of desire were mentioned in a few cases.

D. Awareness of Social Agencies

Greeks were not very well aware of social services, although their relative affluence and stability indicates that this may not be as much of a handicap as in certain other groups. Very often, their general awareness that certain services were available was much greater than their knowledge of specific places to apply, indicating that such needs were not pressing. For example, only one-third of the Greek respondents knew where to obtain job training, although 56 per cent had heard of these services. Most named vocational schools as a source for training courses, identifying programs primarily through their location or sponsoring organization.

The relatively small number of Greek respondents familiar with specific training programs may also reflect either the unfamiliarity of many recently emigrated Greeks with the opportunities available to them or the comfortable financial position enjoyed by the majority. With 84 per cent employed and nearly half reporting incomes of over \$10,000 a year, the need for skill training courses and, consequently, investigation into opportunities for enrolling in them, was not as great as among the other ethnic groups in the survey.

More Greeks knew about child care services than about job training programs, but they had less specific information about programs than any of the groups in the survey. Only 14 per cent knew where to obtain child care services, although 68 per cent had heard of them. Their level of awareness was comparable to that of Irish and

Italians, yet they fell far behind these groups in specific knowledge, probably because most had not lived in Boston long enough to become familiar with actual programs. Because so few members of the sample knew of specific programs offering child care, their answers did not give a good indication of which programs persons of Greek background were most familiar with or what kinds of information they had about them.

In spite of the fact that so few Greeks knew about specific programs, an overwhelming number said that they would like to take advantage of child care services. Of the 38 per cent of the sample who had children eligible for these programs, nine-tenths would participate in them. If their children were enrolled in day care programs, a majority of the wives would work, either part- or full-time.

Sixty per cent of the Greek respondents had heard of UCS, and more than three-quarters of these expressed favorable opinions of the organization. While a substantial number of those who approved of UCS gave general reasons, Greeks who responded negatively were more opinionated than respondents from other groups, with 43 per cent pointing out what they thought were specific failings of the agency.

Greeks were less familiar with the Little City Halls than those of other ethnic backgrounds. Slightly more than half had heard of them, but of these, only 8 per cent felt that the program accomplished a lot of good, while, like the Irish, a large proportion had entirely negative opinions. This group had had little contact with the

neighborhood city agencies and most gave general reasons for their views.

Although Greeks were least familiar with the City's anti-poverty agency, 60 per cent of those who had heard of the organization approved of its programs. In comparison with members of other ethnic groups, Greeks had little contact with ABCD; only a few named specific programs they approved of and none had formed their opinions from participation in the agency's services. Only 10 per cent had heard of the APACs, although three-quarters lived in the target areas. Because the portion of the sample that was familiar with the program was so small, results could not be compared with those from other groups.

IX. PUERTO RICANS

Since the arrival of substantial numbers of persons of Spanish descent in the middle sixties, this group has become known as the newest of the immigrant groups in Massachusetts and as the minority group with the greatest array of problems. The 1960 Census reported only 17,000 in the State, but by 1970 there were nearly 65,000, an enormous increase. Still only 1 per cent of the State's population, the Spanish-speaking are often the focus of the worst problems in urban areas. As a rule, the Puerto Ricans--who make up the majority of those of Spanish descent in Boston--have even greater problems than other Spanish groups, and it was this group that was the object of the Omnibus survey.

Generally, the survey confirmed these assumptions. The Puerto Ricans who were interviewed in Roxbury-North Dorchester and the South End had extremely low incomes, and very few, relatively, were employed. Most were very young, very badly educated, and untrained. While proud of their Spanish heritage, there were few Spanish individuals with whom they could identify, and few were upset at the prospect of inter-marriage. Most in need of social services of all kinds, they were least aware of where to apply for help.

A. General Characteristics

Puerto Rican household heads were young, with relatively large families for their age and a relatively high rate of disrupted marriages. The median age of heads was only twenty-seven, the youngest

of any group surveyed, and 45 per cent were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four; only 10 per cent were fifty-five or older. Twenty-one per cent were divorced and separated, and only 49 per cent were married. The average household was relatively large in size, including 4.2 members, while the two-thirds who had children had an average of 3.4. Only 34 per cent of the households were composed of a head living with a spouse and their children.

Puerto Ricans were very badly educated; 87 per cent of the heads had failed to graduate from high school, and two-thirds had not reached the eighth grade. Only 8 per cent had finished high school or gone beyond. Four per cent of the heads in the labor force were in white-collar occupations and 69 per cent were in blue-collar trades, largely as operatives and service workers. Forty-five per cent of the heads were not in the labor force at all. The unemployment rate among those who were in the labor force and actively looking for work was 19 per cent, more than any other group.

Incomes among Puerto Ricans were very low. Seventy per cent had incomes of less than \$6,000 a year, and the median income for all families was only \$3,700. Only about half were able to depend on wages as the major source of income, while 30 per cent relied on some form of welfare as their prime support. At the same time, nearly half received at least some assistance from welfare, the only significant source of unearned income. None owned their own home, although 4 per cent were buying. Median gross monthly housing costs for renters were only \$100 for renters, but this comprised 38 per cent of income, a very

large proportion. Since incomes in general were so low, food costs were also proportionately large, and also consumed 38 per cent of income. Time payments among the 36 per cent who had incurred them, accounted for 14 per cent of income, and the income remaining after these fixed costs had been met was only 13 per cent of the total. This is an obviously insignificant amount with which to meet the need for clothing, transportation to work, entertainment, and education, and nearly half said that it was very difficult to make ends meet.

In 70 per cent of the households, the respondent was a Catholic. Almost all were married to a Catholic, and 71 per cent to another Puerto Rican. None were born in the continental United States, and over half had arrived within the previous four years. Only 10 per cent had lived on the mainland for more than fifteen years, and only 2 per cent had lived in Boston for that period. Seventy per cent had arrived in Boston within the previous four years, indicating that most had come from some other point on the mainland. A comparison of length of time in Boston with length of residence in their neighborhood indicates that very few had ever lived anywhere else than in the South End and Roxbury-North Dorchester.

B. Attitudes and Practices

While Puerto Ricans were as close or closer to their ethnic background than the Greeks, they were less exclusive and ethnocentric. Very few felt that Puerto Ricans were just like anyone else, but the

only distinguishing characteristic which was mentioned with any frequency was their traditions. More than one-third said that nothing was good about Puerto Ricans, although some mentioned group solidarity and positive personality characteristics. About the same proportion said that nothing was bad, but this was relatively few compared to other groups. Others mentioned anti-social behavior or negative personality traits. Seventy per cent said they were proud when a Puerto Rican achieved success, but less than half could name a specific individual. Those who were named were as often friends or relatives as actors, the only public figures named.

Puerto Ricans were relatively unconcerned at the prospect of any kind of intermarriage. More said that they would be "very upset" at the prospect of a religious intermarriage than at any other kind, although 70 per cent said that they would not be upset at all if a child of theirs married someone who was of another religion. Similarly, four-fifths would not be upset at the prospect of a marriage to someone of another ethnic group or race. More than half, however, said that Puerto Ricans should be at least half of those in any school in which they were represented.

Ninety per cent agreed with the statement that "America would be a better place to live in if everyone kept the customs and traditions of their own group", and 60 per cent observed some customs in the home for the benefit of their children. These included music, holidays, Spanish food, speaking the language, and teaching Puerto

Rican heritage, the only group in addition to the Greeks to do this.

C. Employment Characteristics, Job Histories, and Training

As already noted, the few Puerto Rican heads who were working were in unskilled blue-collar trades, and the unemployment rate was 19 per cent. Almost none were self-employed, but 43 per cent were members of a labor union--a surprisingly high proportion, considering the group's recent arrival in the City. None worked part-time, and one-third worked more than forty-five hours a week.

Eighty-five per cent of all employed Puerto Ricans had had their jobs for less than five years. The job turnover among them was fairly high and, as with the Italians, some had averaged at least one job a year during the five years before they were interviewed. Insufficient pay was the reason given more than any other for the most recent job change, although some also cited a change of residence. Slightly more than a fifth of all who were employed felt that they would be the first laid off should such lay-offs occur at their place of work. Still, only a tenth were looking for new employment. Most Puerto Ricans in the survey indicated that they had obtained their jobs through informal means, and few had made use of any public or private job referral agencies.

Most Puerto Ricans, whether working or not, had had no special job training. This seems consistent with the finding that

the Puerto Ricans in the sample were less familiar with job training programs than those in the other groups surveyed. Among the few Puerto Ricans who indicated that they had had some training in the past, none said what type of training it had been.

There were few Puerto Rican households in which more than one person was employed. In those instances in which this was the case, the second employed person was usually the spouse of the head. In the few cases in which the wife was working, added income was the only reason cited for her doing so, and in all cases there were indications that financial problems would result if she did not work. Over half of those whose wives were not working felt that it would help in some degree if she did. Among Puerto Ricans there were two important reasons for the wife's non-working status: health, and the need for her to be at home.

D. Awareness of Social Services

The group with the greatest need for almost every kind of social service, the Puerto Ricans had the least knowledge of where to turn for help. Half did not know that job training programs existed. Only 15 per cent knew where to apply, and of these, one-third mentioned an ABCD program. Again, half were unaware of the existence of day care centers, but two-thirds of the fifty-three per cent who were eligible would use them if they were available. In a third of the cases, however, the wife would stay at home; only 30 per cent would go to work, despite the group's generally desperate financial condition.

Relatively few Puerto Ricans were aware of the agencies which are available to help them. Only 19 per cent had heard of United Community Services, the lowest recognition rate of any group, and only 45 per cent had heard of ABCD. Ninety per cent of these said that ABCD did at least some good, the highest rate of approval given by any group to any agency. Only 18 per cent were familiar with the APAC in their neighborhoods, however, although 58 per cent of these said that it did some good.

More Puerto Ricans knew of the Little City Halls than of any other agency, but many felt that they did little or no good. More than one-third of those who had heard of the program disapproved, a higher percentage than other groups. A much larger proportion based their opinions on personal experience with the Little City Halls. Few commented on the objectives of the neighborhood agencies, however, and a large majority of the sample gave general reasons or no response.

A P P E N D I X

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

The 1970 Omnibus Survey was carried out by the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard University for Action for Boston Community Development, United Community Services, and other local groups under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Foundation. Each of the participants was interested in a particular subject or ethnic group, and their requirements were assembled in a single questionnaire by the Joint Center staff. The Joint Center was also responsible for the selection of the samples, the administration of the data-gathering process, coding, and tabulating the results.

The survey was undertaken because of the lack of data on the specific needs, problems, and attitudes of various ethnic, racial and national subgroups in the Boston population. Bodies of data based on large samples of the population, such as the U. S. Census, provide demographic information on some members of such groups; however, they do not provide information on their needs and problems. Studies that have collected data on the needs and problems of the Boston community as a whole have not had large enough samples to allow for analysis of data on specific subgroups that make up relatively small proportions of the population. A random sample large enough to make such analysis possible would be extremely expensive. A survey which is specifically designed to obtain data on several of the smaller subgroups is a more efficient method.

The design of the Omnibus Survey involved taking about 400 face-to-face interviews, averaging thirty to forty minutes in length. One hundred of these were taken with respondents chosen at random from the city population as a whole; the remainder were taken with members of five ethnic groups--Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Greeks, Irish, and Italians--living in certain areas of the city.

In designing the samples, it was necessary to take into account such factors as the maximum number of interviews that could be taken within the financial limits of the study; the maximum number of ethnic groups that could be treated adequately, taking into consideration efficient field procedure and the number of cases that would be needed in each group; the particular ethnic groups to be chosen, considering the interests and needs of all parties involved in the study; and the methodology that would lead to the most accurate and efficient sampling procedures.

A large random sample of blocks in the Boston SMSA prepared by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan was used as the basis for both the ethnic and the cross-section samples. Addresses for the ethnic samples were selected by oversampling blocks at rates determined by an ethnic stratification process. It was decided to over-sample only from blocks that fell into certain areas, partly because of the interests of parties involved in ethnic groups in particular areas of the city and partly to take advantage of ethnic concentrations. The ethnic stratification was done by comparing addresses associated with the relevant blocks in the sample with the 1969 Boston

City Directory and coding them for ethnicity on the basis of the name associated with the address. Stratification of the blocks in Dorchester-Mattapan was accomplished by sending an observer to the blocks to make the necessary estimates of their racial composition.

The sampling fraction arrived at for each ethnic group allowed for the amount of error expected to result from the stratification procedures. In addition, a screening interview was conducted at each address selected as part of an ethnic sample. This procedure, besides ensuring that a full interview was conducted only at households that were of an expected ethnicity, enabled the sample to be corrected fairly easily and quickly while interviewers were still in the field.

The samples were drawn to yield about 400 interviews, distributed as follows:

The Black Sample

Blocks were selected at random from the South Dorchester-Mattapan area of the city, excluding sections of the area where it was known Black people did not live. Random clusters of addresses were then selected from these blocks and the addresses were screened for race. Altogether, 106 addresses were selected for this sample. Of these, 41 fell out of the sample because no Black adults lived at them. A random respondent was selected from among the Black adults living at the remaining 65 addresses. Interviews were taken at 50 of these addresses, giving a response rate of 77 per cent.

The Italian and Irish Samples

Blocks were selected at random from the Charlestown, North End, and East Boston areas. Random clusters of addresses were selected from these blocks. The addresses were screened for adults whose nationality background was either mostly Italian or mostly Irish.

As screening progressed, it was found that eligible addresses were falling into the sample at a greater rate than had been expected. Therefore, to avoid having too large a sample of eligible addresses, half of the selected clusters that had not yet been screened were excluded at random. Interviews taken at addresses from the remaining clusters unscreened at that time were weighted by a factor of two.

Altogether, there were 121 addresses at which eligible adults of either Italian or Irish background were found. At each of these addresses, a random respondent was selected. A total of 62 interviews were taken with respondents of Italian background and 24 interviews were taken with those of Irish background, giving a total of 86 interviews taken from the sample and a response rate of 71 per cent.

The Irish respondents in this sample have been combined with the 18 respondents of Irish background found in the cross-section sample. Those from the cross-section sample have been weighted by a factor of 15. Thus, the tabulations are for Irish throughout the city. However, this sample is particularly liable to vary through sampling error because it was more heavily drawn from Charlestown than from any other area.

The Greek Sample

One hundred addresses at which people with distinctively Greek names were listed were selected at random from the Boston City Directory. Each of these addresses was then screened for adults of Greek background. In addition, whenever a selected address was in a building of more than one dwelling, the people at the screened address were asked whether there were other families of Greek background living in the building. Fifty-seven additional addresses were found in this way and added to the sample.

The total number of addresses in the sample, including those that fell in through the screening process and those added, was 90. A random respondent was selected at each of these addresses. Fifty interviews were taken for a response rate of 56 per cent.

The low response rate for this group was the result of a combination of factors. Many of the respondents of Greek background spoke little or no English. Because the Greek-speaking interviewers and interpreters had other full-time jobs, it would have taken them several weeks to complete the interviewing which would have meant going beyond the deadline for completion of the

study. The financial limitations of the study were another consideration. In light of these difficulties, it was decided to take only 50 interviews with respondents of Greek background.

Relatively little is known about the Greek community in Boston, and these data constitute a valuable pilot study. However, because of both the response rate and the fact that this is not a probability sample of all Greek households, the data on Greeks are best treated as useful for comparative purposes and suggestive of further research--not as providing firm estimates of population characteristics.

The Puerto Rican Sample

Two areas where people of Puerto Rican background were believed to be concentrated were delineated using a map prepared by the Mayor's Office of Public Service. All blocks in these two areas were visited by interviewers and all blocks judged to be at least one-third Puerto Rican were selected. Random clusters of addresses were chosen on each of the selected blocks and the addresses screened for adults of Puerto Rican background. In all, 340 addresses were selected. Sixty-two of these were found to have Puerto Rican residents. At each of these addresses, a random respondent was selected and interviews were taken with 47 of these, yielding a response rate of 76 per cent.

The Cross-Section Sample

A small area probability sample was drawn as a standard with which to compare the data from the five ethnic and nationality groups. Random blocks were selected from the whole city of Boston and random clusters of addresses were selected from these blocks. A total of 155 addresses were selected and 108 interviews were taken with random respondents at the addresses--a response rate of 70 per cent. However, problems which arose during the tabulation of the results invalidated the cross-section sample.

While the samples were selected in such a way as to represent the characteristics of the total population of each group in the areas canvassed, their small size may have led to results 5 to 10 percentage points away from the true population figures. Therefore, differences between groups of less than 15 to 20 percentage points should be taken

as suggestive, rather than definitive. Furthermore, the figures in the text can most appropriately be used as indices of the order of magnitude of population characteristics and sentiments, rather than as precise estimates.

The questionnaire, in its final form, contained four general lines of inquiry, three of which have been explored in the present report. Each took up approximately one-quarter of the interview.

The first of these lines of inquiry was undertaken to generate basic demographic information, with special emphasis on the employment experiences of the household head. In this area were asked the age, sex, and marital status of each person in the household, as well as their relationship to one another; the total family income, the sources from which it was derived, and the family's expenses for food, shelter, and time payments; the head's educational level, employment status, and employment history; the race, ethnic or national background and religion of the respondent and the respondent's spouse; and the family's length of residence in the Boston area and in the section of the city where they then lived. This data was collected and coded in such a way as to allow comparison with other bodies of data such as the 1970 U. S. Census.

The second line of inquiry involved a series of questions intended to gauge the respondent's strength of identity with his or her ethnic group. In addition to the religion and national background of the respondent, each was asked to define his feelings about religious,

ethnic, and racial intermarriage, about the strengths and weaknesses of his own group, the number and type of customs that he observed, and his attitude toward the value of ethnic diversity in American society.

The third major line of inquiry was concerned with the impact of direct-service agencies and programs on the groups surveyed. People were asked about their awareness of certain major social service agencies and community action programs and agencies in Boston and about their contact with these agencies. Details of contacts with specific agencies or programs were not collected because it was expected that the number of such contacts would be too small to make pursuit of such data worthwhile. A more feasible study design for obtaining such detailed data would include a sample drawn from a list of known users of agencies or programs.

Asking directly about a respondent's perceived need for social service was also considered. However, the Joint Center had found in the past that perceived need for social service is closely related to knowledge of the existence of social services. That is, it appears that people do not define their problems in terms of needing a particular service unless they have some sophistication about the kinds of services available. An alternative would have been to ask people what their most important problems were, whether they knew an agency or group set up to help people with such problems, and whether they would be willing to go to such an agency for help. However, it was not possible to carry out this line of questioning with the small sample employed.

